

# Had it with hot taste?



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# Fire is always looking for a place to happen.

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stop burning when flame is removed.

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# TIME LISTINGS

# TELEVISION

Wednesday, June 18 SPECTRUM (NET, 8-8:30 p.m.).\* "Abu Simbel" tells how the ancient temples of Ramses II were saved from the rising waters of the Nile River which rose during construction of the Aswan High Dam.

Thursday, June 19 NET PLAYHOUSE (NET, 8-10 p.m.). Three avant-garde plays by the La Mama Playwrights: Pavane by Jean-Claude van Itallie, Fourteen Hundred Thousand by Sam Shepard, and The Recluse by Paul Foster.

Saturday, June 21

WIDE WORLD OF SPORTS (ABC, 5-6:30 p.m.). N.C.A.A. Outdoor Track and Field championships from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville, Tenn.

Sunday, June 22

DISCOVERY '69 (ABC, 11:30 a.m.-noon).

During a visit to the Peace Corps training center in Hawaii, Discovery follows the lives of two workers being prepared for work in Malaysia.

A.A.U. TRACK AND FIELD MEET (CBS, 3:30-4:30 p.m.), The Sacramento Invitational

SOUNDS OF SUMMER (NET, 8-10 p.m.). A double bill leads off with the world première of Peter Mennin's cantata The Pied Piper of Hamelin, narrated by Cyril Symphony Orchestra. The second part of the program, "Old Timers' Night at the Boston Pops," includes Joan Kennedy's narration of Peter and the Wolf.

Monday, June 23

CHILDREN'S THEATER (NBC, 8-9 p.m.). Bill Cosby is host to a group of children who have made the movies that are shown and discussed on "As I See It."

Tuesday, June 24 NET FESTIVAL (NET, 9-10 p.m.). Brazil's changing music scene is the subject of "The World of the Bossa Nova."

# THEATER

On Broadway

THE FRONT PAGE. Robert Ryan and Bert Convy, backed by an adroit cast, are featured in a revival of the Ben Hecht-Charles MacArthur saga of newspapering

in Chicago in the 1920s.
PLAY IT AGAIN, SAM, Woody Allen stars as Woody Allen in his new comedy about a neurotic young man who is rejected even by the girls of his fantasies.

FORTY CARATS. Julie Harris plays a twicedivorced damsel of 40, ardently wooed and won by a 22-year-old lad in this comedy that proves that love is a game for all seasons.

# Off Broadway

o All times E.D.T.

NO PLACE TO BE SOMEBODY. Playwright Charles Gordone, aided by a skillful cast, examines the fabric of black-white and black-black relationships with uninhibited fury and unexpected humor.

ADAPTATION-NEXT. An evening of oneters, both directed with great comic flair by Elaine May. In Miss May's Ad-

aptation, a contestant plays the game of life as if it were a TV game with penalties and bonuses. In Terrence McNally's Next, his best play to date, an overage po-

THE MISER. Robert Symonds plays Harpagon in this revival of Molière's comedy at the Lincoln Center Repertory Theater. His tendency to overplay is precisely right for this petty monster.

TO BE YOUNG, GIFTED AND BLACK is a moving tribute to the late playwright Lorraine Hansberry, made up of readings and dramatizations from her own writings.

DAMES AT SEA is a delightful parody of the movie musicals of the 1930s, complete with naive Ruby, who comes to Broadway to tap her way to stardom.

CINEMA

POPI. Alan Arkin is magnificent as a Puer-

to Rican widower struggling to get his two sons out of the New York ghetto in this funny, occasionally angry little comedy that is one of the year's most refreshing films

LAUGHTER IN THE DARK. Love is literally blind in this black comedy about a wealthy comes obsessed with a Jascivious movie usherette (Anna Karina). Williamson gives a strong performance as a weak man. The script-from Vladimir Nabokov's novel-is intelligent, and Tony Richardson's direc-tion is his best since The Entertainer.

PEOPLE MEET AND SWEET MUSIC FILLS THE HEART. Moviegoers weary of the sobersided sex of I Am Curious (Yellow) will find some light and welcome relief in this bizarre Danish satire

MIDNIGHT COWBOY. James Leo Herlihy's novel about the unlikely friendship of a Texas drifter and a Bronx loner has been transformed by Director John Schlesinger (Darling) into a slick portrait of nighttown America that is notable for the acting of Dustin Hoffman and Jon Voight THE LOVES OF ISADORA. Dancer Isadora

Duncan had quite a life, but there is little of it left in this biography, which has been severely truncated by the film's distributors. Vanessa Redgrave lends the film its only distinction with a graceful, majestic performance.

THE ROUND UP and THE RED AND THE WHITE are two bitter, handsome films by Hungary's Miklós Jancsó that share a loathing for war and a barely controlled ha-

WINNING, Paul Newman and Joanne

Woodward give unduly serious attention to this somewhat bathetic tale of marital infidelity, set against the noisy background of auto racing. The Newmans are good to watch in just about anything, but this particular vehicle is badly in need of a dra-

THE NIGHT OF THE FOLLOWING DAY looks at first glance like a routine kidnaping thriller, but Writer-Director Hubert Cornfield uses the crime only as a premise on which to build a stylish seminar on the poetics of violence. In a small but superb cast, Marlon Brando gives his best performance in more than a decade.

MY SIDE OF THE MOUNTAIN and RING OF BRIGHT WATER. These two children's films are distinguished by their lack of coyness and a singleminded refusal to condescend to their audience. Mountain concerns a Ca-

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nadian lad who runs off to the woods, and Ring tells the sprightly tale of a London accountant and his pet otter.

GOODBYE, COLUMBUS. When he wrote Goodbye, Columbus, Philip Roth had something more in mind than a story of young love in Jewish suburbia. That, however, is the sum total of this film adaptation, directed by Larry Peerce and nicely acted by Richard Benjamin and a new-comer named Ali MacGrau.

THE FIXER. A persecuted Jewish handyman in turn-of-the-century Russia battles his fate with an intensity that makes this fate with an intensity that makes this John Frankenheimer film a harrowing and moving experience. Alan Bates (in the title role), Dirk Bogarde and Ian Holm perform their difficult roles with a sometimes fierce passion.

# BOOKS

# BC

Best Reading
Children's Books—Ages 7 to 14
GOOORY, DOVE SQUARE, by Janet
Neell (Little, Brown's \$4.50); \*ROUME IN
THE UNDERLE by John Rowe Townsend (Lipmonet) \$3.75); \*REUVEROO'C AGS, by \$5]books about domestic adventure—include
in murder—set in the slums of English cities. The writing is clear and fast pracet,
without ever miking down to the reader.
Americans may be stumped by an 65
americans may be stumped by an 65
americans may for from the first, but cere
supers, or "child" for French first, but cere

tainly by "scuffers" for cops.

MY ENEMY, MY BROTHER, by James Forman (Meredith; \$4.95). Three young Jewish survivors of a concentration camp

make their way from Warsaw to an Israeli kibbutz only to be caught up in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. A thoughtful book best suited to older children.

TUCKER'S COUNTRYSIDE, by George Selden, illustrated by Garth Williams (Farra, Straus & Giroux; \$3.95). In sequel to The Cricket in Times Square, a citified cat and mouse visit a cricket and help im contend with dogs, bulldozers and other socurges of the countryside. The black and white illustrations are Garth Wilblack and white illustrations are Garth Wil-

liams at his best.

BLACK JACK, by Leon Garfield (Pantheon; \$4.50). Resurrected after hanging, Black Jack and a young apprentice begin a wild progress across 18th century England that leads to murder, body snatching, and a

love story. A splendid swashbuckling tale.

MANHATIAN IS MISSING, by E. W. Hildick (Doubleday: \$3.95). A science-fiction
title, a threatening ransom note, a secret
meeting, and a wild chase across Central
Park—all more or less in pursuit of Man-

hattan, a fussy Siamese cat.

PETER AND VERONICA, by Marilyn Sachs
(Doubleday: \$3.95). The pain and fun of
a friendship—mostly conducted on roller
skates—between Peter Wedemeyer (small,
amiable, Jewish) and Veronica Ganz (big,

bullying, Lutheran).

"IL GET THERE IT BETTER BE WORTH THE
TRIP, by John Donovan (Harper & Row;
\$3.95, A few months in the life of a 13year-old emigré from New England to
New York City in the custody of a mother who is almost a stranger. Rather sophisticated, with a semihomosexual scene,
and a semi-Catcher in the Rye style, the
book is nevertheless remarkably touching.

RUTGERS AND THE WATER-SNOUTS, by Barbara Dana (Harper & Row; \$3.95). Rutgers is a bulldog who composes light verse for friends. A marvelous readaloud book, especially for anybody who wants to find out what water-snouts are.

A GIRI CALLED AL, by Constance C. Greene (Viking; \$3.95). A curiously winning little story about the friendship between two girls and the assistant superintendent in a city apartment building.

# Best Sellers

FICTION

Portnoy's Complaint, Roth (1 last week) The Love Machine, Susann (2) The Godfather, Puzo (3)

4. Ado, Nabokov (4) 5. The Salzburg Connection, MacInnes (6)

6. Except for Me and Thee, West (5)

7. Bullet Park, Cheever (9) 8. Airport, Hailey (7)

9. Slaughterhouse-Five, Vonnegut (8) 10. Sunday the Rabbi Stayed Home, Kemelman (10)

# NONFICTION

Ernest Hemingway, Baker (1)
 Between Parent and Teenager,

- Ginott (2)
- The Peter Principle, Peter and Hull (3)
   Jennie, Martin (4)
- 5. The Money Game, 'Adam Smith' (8) 6. Miss Craig's 21-Day Shape-Up Program
- for Men and Women, Craig (5)
  7. The Age of Discontinuity, Drucker
  8. Lillian Gish: The Movies, Mr. Griffith
  and Me. Gish and Pinchot
- 9. The 900 Days, Salisbury (6) 10. The Arms of Krupp, Manchester (9)

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schedule your meeting in the first place?

The chairs get set up. The displays are erected. brought you here. The projector's ready. The mikes don't hummm, The coffee gets served. The easel stands tall.

Big deal.

We happen to think so. Because after you've . . . after you've returned from 18 holes or the ski Whether your group is a modest 30, or 300 strong, slopes or the riding trails or the health club or the we handle your arrangements with characteristic pools or one of our "hip" bars . . . after you've Playboy'd to the hilt . . . it was still business that

That's a very nice offer in the return card. Deal Club-HOTE











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The system's name: ACI for automatic car identification. The magic eye sees through rain, snow and mud splatter even at high speeds. Right now, ACI is only in use at a few points. Before year's end every freight car is scheduled for color coded labeling. Which will take a lot of loads off the minds of our customers.

The uncommon carrier Illinois Central Railroad

# LETTERS

### Lead Us into Temptation

Sir: After reading the results of the Lou-is Harris Poll on morality [June 6], it seems to me that the only conclusion to come to is that the American people are thinking for themselves more than ever.

There is no such thing as being immoral v. being moral. If a person doesn't accept the established morals, he is living by his own standards, not being immoral. To paraphrase Mark Twain, "Lead us into temptation . . . it builds strong character. BRAD BURKE

### Martinsville, N.J.

Sir: Ridiculous! I refer to "Changing Mo-rality: The Two Americas" and especially to the comparison "A doctor who refluses a house call to someone who is seriously ill is worse than a homosexual." I mean, what is the point? That doctors are bet-ter than homosexuals? What if the doctor himself is a homosexual (take a TIME-Harris Poll on that one)? I mean to say the questions were so worded, the comparisons so ridiculous, that it is no wonder intelligent people are questioning the polls—and no wonder they've proved wrong time and time again.

### AGNES TRELOS Los Angeles

Sir: In a society where children are conditioned to develop conceptually profane areas in their minds to accommodate words that in themselves are neutral, that sends missionaries to teach innocent people living comfortably in warm climates to be shameful of their bodies—which, para-doxically, are made in the image of God -it is refreshing to read of the new morality, which, new or old, was always concerned with the whole man, his intent, not merely his flesh. The days of busybodies and social cancers with boots up to their knees and collars up to their ears are hopefully numbered.

# WALTER SWAN

Sir: Allow me to express my incomprehension at a society that 1) condones, in deed in some ways encourages, premarital sex for girls (TIME-Harris Poll), 2) has-tens to condemn as "women of easy mor-als" (BEHAYIOR) those of them who were not careful enough and became unwed mothers, and 3) makes news of the "soft bulge under [Vanessa Redgrave's] floppy white pants" and "the Italian actor who fa-thered the child but whom she feels no need to marry" (PEOPLE).

From these criteria, it would seem that be "moral" way to bed before and out of wedlock is exclusively and respectively 1) through the pharmacy next door to buy a pill, or 2) through becoming a member of the jet set.

### SOUHEIL DIB

# Beirut

# Behind the Vote

Sir: Why, oh why, must everyone who does not support a black candidate be la-beled "racist"? Is every black candidate naturally better than every white one, regardless of accomplishments?

You state: "The trouble with any poll in-

rou state: The trouble with any poll in-volving a Negro candidate, of course, is that many of those interviewed are re-luctant to admit to racial prejudice." Were the "many" really racially prejudiced? Is it not possible that some people may have been for Yorty in their ignorance in still believing that they had the right of free choice? It seems that free speech and free choice are only available to the socalled liberals in this country and that those having a difference of opinion im mediately become labeled and shouted down in the press as well as on college cam-puses. Shades of the "McCarthy era"! Mrs. ALVIN GRANT

Sir: Sam Yorty's campaign emerges as the most repugnant and cankerous op-portunism witnessed in recent times. This particular variety of infectious demi-think is as sinister a threat to America as the nuclear stalemate or environmental pollution, for it moves the electoral decision from rea son to the irrational and erodes people's belief in the democratic process. A greater tragedy, though, is the extent to which Yorty's racism has so aptly measured the temperament of the voter. How dare we feign shock at the news of a Watts? ROBERT C. PADEN

# Wichita Kans

Sir: Thanks to Mr. Thomas Bradley's decision to run for mayor, the citizens of Los Angeles had the opportunity to see themselves in daylight. Not a very pretty sight to watch—fear and prejudice sur-face and prevail. Possibly even more frightening is the Los Angeles voter's lack of qualms about jeopardizing the future of his city by placing it in the hands of a ruthless opportunist.

## WILLIAM H. HOFFMAN Indianapolis

Sir: One would assume from the tenor of your article that 53.3% of the voting public of L.A. is racist. The precinct analysis reveals that over 95% of the Negroes in predominantly Negro areas voted Bradley while the Whitey areas voted Yorty by only 65%. Who are the racists?

STUART VON

# Los Angeles

# Sole-Satisfying

Sir: I take umbrage with your inter-pretation of conditions at Midway [June 6]. True, the accommodations might not please the jet set, but heads of state will be satisfied with good, middle-class Amerlations. Some of the reporters may have to sleep in barracks, but if it's good enough for the Navy . . . Gooney birds are a problem to the planes but a joy to normal human beings. They are beautiful and unafraid, good no-non-sense parents, and they offer lessons in tenacity and calm that some people of our country might well copy.

Night life? Well, believe it or not, it can be soul-satisfying to walk on the beach after dinner in bare feet.

MRS. G. B. PERRY

# Scotts Valley, Calif.

### Freatum

Sir: I was amazed, shocked and mystified when I read the remark attributed to me in a story entitled "Post Office" [June 6].

In the context in which it appeared, the quotation implied that I favor continued political patronage in the Post Office Department and had argued at the White House against President Nixon's proposal to convert the present postal system into a public corporation

The facts are that I have repeatedly called for removal of politics from the called for removal of politics from the Post Office Department in the past and that I issued a strong statement in sup-port of the President's public postal cor-poration on the day Mr. Nixon sent his

postal-reform message to the Congress. I not only endorsed the proposal. I urged that Congress "take every vestige of politics out of our postal system." In addition, I urged a letter-writing campaign so that members of Congress will know

that the people want postal reform. GERALD R. FORD, M.C. Fifth District, Mich. House of Representatives Washington, D.C.

# ► TIME erred and regrets the implication.

## Addendum

Sir: The case TIME's Essay presents for a change in U.S. foreign policy as regards China [June 6] is a sound and moderately argued one-perhaps over-moderately. For example, when you pointed out that Chi-na "has been involved less dramatically outside its borders than the Soviet Union," you might have added "and than the U.S.," which currently deploys a million and a half of its armed forces in bases scat-tered around the world, while China's troops are all at home where they (and, for the most part, we) belong JEROME STONE

# W. Concord, Mass.

# Enough Rope

Sir: Sending Governor Rockefeller to Lat-in America [June 6] is similar to talking of twine in the house of the hanged. The Rockefeller empire stretches from prac-tically one end of Latin America to the other, representing the powerful wealth and prosperity of the U.S. and everything

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that goes along with it. This "fact-finding that goes along with it. This "fact-inding mission," nothing more than a gesture of appeasement to Latin America, has be-come a double slap in the face.

RICHARD WERNER GLUKSTAD

Gainesville, Fla

## In Dubious Travel

Sir: Few of Temple Fielding's followers [June 6] travel his kind of first class. They may think they're treading in the master's Gucci-shod footsteps, but what it adds up to after the checks are spent is more like fatuous Frommer than fas-tidious Fielding. Just as Lucius Beebe and his private railway car made few if any so-ciological waves, so Fielding and his por-table martini mixer are headed for inverted snobbism's dubious Hall of Fame. NORMAN READER

## Amagansett, N.Y.

Sir: Temple Fielding is a symbol of ev-Sir: Temple Fielding is a symbol of everything wrong with our society—super-ficial, antiseptic and self-righteous. In an increasingly complex and sensitive world, Fielding sends forth his legions of bores, who would rather pinch and proposition than listen and understand.

DAVID FOX

Sir: I am sore distressed. Months of European travel were motivated by intel-lectual curiosity; perhaps I have sinned. Henceforth, I shall avidly devote my energies to outwitting airline and customs employees, diligently hunting American food and drinks and, while my wife shops, perhaps engage in a bit of titillating re-search on new strains of VD. Oh, woe is me for a misspent life! E. W. FREEMAN

# Brevard, N.C.

Sir: Your article on Temple Fielding was very interesting, and he certainly is a charming man. However, when he reported in his 1969 Guide to Europe that my father, General Arthur McChrystal of the Bristol Hotel in Salzburg, had died, our family felt it was a "gross exaggeration." He is alive and working at the Bristol.

ELAINE MCCHRYSTAL KNAPP

Atherton, Calif.

# Hip! Hip!

Sir: Three theological cheers for Bishop James P. Shannon [June 6]. What a joy to know there is one American Catholic bishop more Christian than churchy, more humane than inquisitorial, more open than parochial, more honest than face-saving. JAMES HESSEL HAYDEN

# San Francisco

Andrea Leiterie be Edme to TIME & LIPE Builde 

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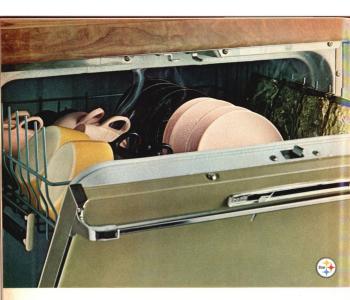
Volvo comes equipped with 4-speed synchromesh transmission; 4-wheel power disc brakes; whitewall tires; two undercoatings; rear window defroster; deluxe upholstery; reclining bucket seats; rear seat armrest; windshield washer and 2-speed wipers; trip odometer; alternator; and a steering wheel lock so a thief can't take it all away from you.

Volvo also comes equipped with a mileage counter that goes all the way up to 999,999 before flipping back to zero.

After all, with 9 out of every 10 Volvos registered here in the last eleven years still on the road, we couldn't very well forget something you're so likely to use.







# How convenience created jobs for 100,000 Americans

Some people think Americans attach too much importance to conveniences like dishwashers. Actually, all of us probably attach too little.

What some don't see is that appliances such as dishwashers, disposers, and self-cleaning ovens do more than make life easier for housewives. In the past ten years, these appliances have created 50,000 new jobs in the appliance industry', and at least an equal number in related businesses and industries.

We at Republic Steel can see it. Our steels help to meet the soaring demand for convenience appliances. Republic Steel Corporation supplies the flat rolled steels needed for durability and attractiveness; the stainless steels used for beauty and corrosion resistance; the steel wire and tubing, bar steels and high strength alloys, fasterers, and many more. If you have ever tried to create a job, you know it isn't easy. It takes a lot of hard work, imaginative thinking, and economic resources. You have to get involved and stay involved. It takes more than good intentions.

The people in American business and industry deserve your support. They've *been* involved for years. They create more jobs, more pay, more tax revenues, and more conveniences for more people than anybody else in the world.

\*Based on U.S. Government statistics

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SAIGON BUREAU CHIEF CLARK (LEFT) & STAFF

# A letter from the PUBLISHER

Janu R. Shepley

AS the first small contingent of U.S. troops received the word last week that their Viet Nam duty would soon be over, a widely scattered crew of TIME's own Viet Nam veterans recalled their service with the Saigon press corps. For as the U.S. commitment in Viet Nam grew over the years, so did TIME's. By now, our bureaus all over the world are staffed with men who have put in tours as combat correspondents; TIME casualties included one dead and seven wounded.

TIME's first office in Saigon was a cramped hotel room. Time correspondents, in fact, continued to operate mainly out of hotel rooms until May of 1966. Then Bureau Chief Frank McCulloch, now head of LIFE's Washington bureau, rented a villa in the city's downtown district-a convenient if not commodious structure located between the Presidential Palace and the new American embassy. The two-story, whitewashed building is devoted mostly to office space. During the 1968 Tet offensive, however, correspondents, Vietnamese employees and most of their families moved into the TIME compound.

For TIME's Saigon contingent, the little time they spend in the villa at No. 7 Han Thuyen is a welcome change from the workaday hazards they share with the troops in the field. All the rooms are air-conditioned when the power does not fail. And more important, correspondents can send their copy over one of the few direct press communication links with New York, via radio to Manila and then cable to the U.S.

The present Saigon staff includes a varied crew of correspondents. Bureau Chief Marsh-Clark is a Middle Westerner who was political editor of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat hefore coming to TIME. Wallace Terry, who will soon go to Harvard as a Nieman Fellow, is an ordained Disciples of Christ minister. William Marmon, a Virginian with a Princeton degree, once taught school in Greece. John Wilhelm, a Florida native, used to be a TIME correspondent in Washington. Chicago-born Burton Pines studied at the University of Wisconsin and was working in Heidelberg on his Ph.D. in history when he was hired by TIME.

The Cover: Photo collage on acrylic and tempera by Héctor Garrido. The helmeted G.I. symbolizes the returning soldier; the photographs used in the collage show Viet Nam veterans on the move.

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# TIME

# THE NATION

# SLOW ROAD BACK TO THE REAL WORLD

WHEN the President's Midway an-nouncement crackled over transistor radios tuned to the Armed Forces Viet Nam Network last week, few G.I.s even paused in their tasks to listen to it Rumors of troop withdrawals had been making the rounds in the war zone since peace talks got under way in Paris a year ago; when nothing happened, the results were skepticism and indifference. Then word reached the men of the U.S. 9th Infantry and 3rd Marine Divisions that some of them would be among the first 25,000 to be replaced by Vietnamese troops. Green second lieutenants and combat-toughened veterans ran through their unit areas, shouting and weeping for joy at the realization that, for them at least, the war would soon be over. "It's wonderful," said Specialist 4/C Charles M. Greene, 22, of Chicago, who was due for rotation in three days anyway. "I'm just sorry that it didn't come earlier so it could have helped some of my buddies who already got it."

Back home as well as in the field,



But less than a specific blueprint.

the President's decision was both hailed as a constructive step and attacked as a token maneuver of little significance. Americans in uniform and in mufti have seen too many false starts toward peace to be carried away by what at best is a cautious attempt at disengagement. One cynical draftee dismissed it as "strictly political." Another G.I. saw the move as evidence that "something is being accomplished." That division of opinion spoke for the capital and the country at large.

By itself, the subtraction by August of 25,000 men from the 537,500 Americans now in South Viet Nam hardly represents an overwhelming change in the arithmetic of U.S. commitment. Yet it is a tangible and substantive measure

that is part of a larger strategy. For the first time since the initial contingent of 35 American military advisers arrived in Indo-China in 1950-it was the French-Viet Minh war then-the level of U.S. participation in the conflict is going down, not up. So is the draft call, which is dropping more than 3,000 in July to the lowest monthly figure so far this year. Richard Nixon's approach may fail. The effect on the Paris negotiations may be nil (see following story). The North Vietnamese could choose to increase rather than reduce their military effort. Despite these caveats, it is also possible that Nixon's tactics could start a downward trend on the violence scale.

# Formless and Ferocious

The individual fighting men, like soldiers in all wars, are relatively unconcerned with the big picture. In the 9th Division, which will part with its 1st and 2nd Brigades, and in the 3rd Marines, which will detach its 9th regimental landing team, some men began packing their bags. Many were already nearing the end of their tour; others still had several months to serve. Fighting in a war of attrition, in which kill ratios are more important than territorial objectives, they have come to believe that their one-year tour of duty is something to be endured. For most, personal survival is victory enough. Thus, for the ones ticketed to leave, a kind of happy ending to this formless, ferocious war has approached. For the 512,500 men who will re-

main behind when the first chosen units depart Viet Nam for other stations in the Pacific, or in the case of 8,000 men, for the U.S., the war goes on. To the majority, the withdrawals remain little more than a gesture. Those just beginning tours in the combat zone might hope for future troop cuts. But few look beyond the next patrol. "Man,



MEMBERS OF THE 9TH DIVISION TOAST WITHDRAWAL More than a vision

it doesn't mean nothing," said a member of a 25th Division weapons platoon on hearing the news, and his remarks were echoed by most of the men in his unit. Some servicemen share the views of Sergeant Merle Edmunds, 34, a twelve-year veteran whose unit has been "taking a hell of a beating up there" at Dak To. "It sort of looks as if we ought to be putting some more troops in," says Edmunds. Specialist 4/C Francis E. Rodriguez, 21, of San Juan, Puerto Rico, a rifleman in the 9th's 2nd Brigade, agrees. "I think our biggest mistake was stopping the bombing up North," he says. "As soon as we pull out, there's going to be beaucoup trouble."

To most G.I.s, the withdrawal is a political rather than a military move, and one that will have little immediate effect on either them or the war. "This business is meant to pacify the folks at home," commented a military policeman in Saigon. "We're going to stay here for a long time." Pfc. Jimmy Poston, born in Guam, a 20-year-old draftee who serves as an assistant gunner in a mortar platoon, is also unfazed. "All the political speeches and stuff don't mean anything when you're over here. he says. "Boy, you know they were talk-ing about Viet Nam when I was 15."

# Movie Theater Meeting

The first phase of the withdrawal was worked out during a three-day meeting at the Hawaii headquarters of Admiral John McCain, Commander of U.S. forces in the Pacific. A team of 100 military and civilian Defense Department experts, who gathered in a movie theater, reviewed the already prepared top-secret folders and quickly made the decision on which troops to start pulling out of Viet Nam. The two 9th Infantry brigades and the Marine regimental combat team include roughly 17,000 men. They will be joined by about another 8,000 rear-echelon and naval personnel. The total number of American servicemen in the country will go down by less that 5%-but U.S. ground combat strength will be reduced by nearly 10%

The decision to withdraw some of their units came as a surprise to both the Army and the Marine divisions. The Marines occupy battle posts near Viet Nam's northern borders and have been involved in frequent clashes recently. The upper Mekong Delta, where the 9th is stationed, is a logical place from which to withdraw two brigades. since it is the only area where the South Vietnamese army (ARVN) already does the lion's share of the fighting. But the 9th is the only major U.S. unit in the heavily populated and strategically important delta, and one of the most efficient in the country, using such hit-andrun tactics as night raids and ambushes to rack up the highest kill counts of any allied outfit.

Many G.I.s question whether the Army of South Viet Nam is ready to take up the slack. "I won't say the ARVNs won't do nothing," says Pfc, Willis V. Tapscott, a 20-year-old draftee from Yuma, Ariz., "but you gotta kick 'em in the ass to fight. When you go on a sweep with them, they spend their time picking fruit and stealing chickens. High-level officers disagree, but few U.S. servicemen in the lower ranks feel any real kinship with their Vietnamese allies, and fewer still believe in the cause for which they are fighting.

What they do believe in is the "real world"-the Viet Nam G.I.s' way of describing home, or any pleasant place outside the war zone. For those about to become Viet vets, homecoming promises to be quiet. Unlike his World War II counterpart, who was welcomed back with speeches and victory parades and given an eagle to wear in his lapel, the alumnus of the inconclusive Viet Nam war can expect little more than a grateful welcome from his family, an occasional harangue from a college cousin, and a few questions or silence from everyone else. Those who have already returned quickly learned that lesson

Robert Hammer, 26, of Austin, Tex-

# One Man's Battle

WHILE men of the 9th Infantry and 3rd Marine divisions were celebrating the decision to withdraw their units last week, Specialist 4/C Arthur Jaramillo went about his tasks as sergeant of a 25th Division weapons platoon. Jaramillo's unit is remaining in Viet Nam, and his war still has two months to go. "You can have this war and stick it." he told TIME Correspondent John Wilhelm, "Why don't they pull us all out? Either that or decide to win this thing?" Still, despite his frustration, he realizes that matters are not quite that simple. "You can't blame Nixon a lot," he says. "He had to take on the war from Johnson.

A former defensive tackle for East Los Angeles College, Jaramillo enlisted in the Army because he "wanted some action." He has had plenty. He was awarded a Purple Heart and has been recommended for a Bronze Star for his leadership and courage during a mortar attack on his unit. He shrugs off the recognition: "I couldn't use no medals. Now if it were beer or money, O.K. But what's a medal gonna give you?

In his ten months in Viet Nam, Jaramillo has known fear, boredom and disillusionment. His biggest worry: "Getting killed. I just couldn't see myself getting killed. Some nights I don't worry, 'cause you know nothing is going to happen. Some nights I don't even feel safe in the bunker. I've seen guys at night just crying. Let the guy cry. It's helping him. I cried. Two good buddies of mine got hit, but it's over with and you can't keep thinking about it." does think about it, though, and about the terrible loneliness of war. "The only ones who even worry about you are your mother, your pa and your girl," he says.

What keeps Jaramillo going, he feels, is the letters that his girl, Lydia Terrazas, writes almost daily. Frantic with concern for his safety, she writes him: "Artie, you have so much to come home to, please don't be foolish, come home to me." Jaramillo saves the letters in an old ammunition case, reads them as many as 25 times,



SPECIALIST JARAMILLO

then burns them because he knows he has more coming. They provide a link with the "real world." Like most G.I.s, Jaramillo also strings good-luck medals around his neck -including, in his case, one blessed by the Pope. "You can't have too much good luck over here," he says.

Jaramillo, who will still have a year and five months to serve when he gets back to the U.S., says that he once considered extending his tour for six months but abandoned the idea. When he gets out, he thinks that he may return to school. Meanwhile, he watches his step and counts the days: "It's a long year. Here a year seems like five years. I never gave a --- about this or that until I came over here. I just read the sports pages before. Now I read and try to form my opinions. I feel I'm more mature since coming over here. I got more responsibility-'cause it's my own ass I've gotta protect." If he succeeds at that task, his happiness at getting out alive will probably conquer whatever bitterness that Viet Nam may have left. "When you're flying home you feel like crving 'cause they got it so beautiful back there," he says, "Someday it will all be over."



WORLD WAR II VICTORY PARADE IN MANHATTAN
This time personal survival is enough.

as, who served as a clerk-typist at Chu. Li, found neither flags nor builting on his return to civilian life recently. "I didn't run into a single person who felt that the war was a good thing," he says. "They reacted to me like a flu vic-tim—someone who has undergone an unfortunate experience and then recovered." Former Infantry Captain Michael his friends generally unwilling to discuss the war and unable to understand his rireads generally unwilling to discuss the war and unable to understand in it. "I usually avoid all arguments on it." McGreevy says.

Most of the returned G.I.s seem to be making the adjustment from military to civilian life with little difficulty. Dozier T. James, 26, a Negro alumnus of the 25th Division, has overcome his dread of nightfall and finds it takes far less discipline to step aboard a city bus to go to his post office job in Atlanta than it did to lead a patrol into a dark, enemy-infested jungle. Rich Magoria, 23, of San Bruno, Calif., a former 9th Division machine gunner whose career as a college football player was cut short when a Viet Cong mine shattered part of his skull, has enrolled at the College of San Mateo and has resumed his service-interrupted social life. He supports the war effort, is disheartened by those who oppose it, because "they

The rapid demobilization that followed World War II, releasing millions of men into the economy in a short period of time, threatened severe economic dislocation. No such problems are an ticipated from the gradual withdrawal

don't know too much about it.

planned by the Nixon Administration. The Veterans Administration is currently at work processing-and the booming economy is absorbing-70,000 new veterans every month. Unemployment is now at a record low of 3.5%, so that even if the Government were to release 25,000 men into the 77.264,000-man labor force at once, their numbers would be statistically insignificant. As it is, men leaving Viet Nam normally serve out the remainder of their hitch in the U.S. before being discharged.

Public and private agencies, meanwhile, are helping veterans to make the transition from soldier to emplovee. The Pentagon and Labor Department, backed by the unions, are cooperating with companies like Ford. General Motors and IBM to train unskilled G.I.s as auto mechanics, businessmachine repairmen and pipefitters under "Project Transition." The Greater Atlanta Veterans League has been helping from 30 to 40 discharged servicemen find

jobs each month. The Urban League has an active employment program for black veterans. New York City's Division of Veterans Affairs has found jobs as taxi drivers for 180 recently discharged veterans who were in immediate financial need.

# **Education Programs**

The country's educational institutions. nearly inundated by ex-servicemen after World War II, are expecting no similar invasion by Viet Nam returnees. Where 50% of World War II veterans took advantage of the G.I. Bill of Rights to get themselves a college education, only 19% of eligible veterans are presently enrolled in Government-sponsored education programs. College officials, pointing out that liberal student deferments have allowed a greater number of draftees to finish their education before entering the service, predict no sizable increase in this figure. Nor are most schools prepared to give Viet Nam returnees any special consideration. U.C.L.A. Admissions Officer Wesley Robinson anticipates that "all things being equal, we would give veterans a break in deciding who gets accepted and who doesn't." But he notes that only 12% of California's graduating high school seniors are even eligible to apply for admission, and stresses that veterans with poor records will not

In fact, only highly motivated veterans with good part-time jobs or parental support are likely to even apply for admission to most tuition-charging schools. While servicemen returning to the cam-

pus after World War II found the Government willing to pay for their tuition and books and provide them with allowances of \$75 a month and up, campusbound Viet vets will get only a basic \$130 a month for everything, a sum that will not even cover full-time tuition in most private colleges.

### Same Status

Senators Jacob Javits and Ralph Yarborough have filed a bill that would hike basic college benefits to \$190. Nothing has been done, however, to make another G.I. Bill benefit-the G.I. mortgage-more available. Back in the years following World War II, some 5,388,000 veterans used the Government-guaranteed loans to purchase homes. But today, few if any G.I. mortgages are being written at all. Banks, which blame tight money, say the mortgages are unprofitable business. Milton Williams, a 21year-old Negro, had hoped to use the \$1,000 he managed to save from his Army pay to buy a home in Queens and escape with his parents from Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyyesant slum. Although he works as a meter reader by day and a taxi driver at night-and goes to Queens Community College in between-no bank will write him a G.I. mortgage.

The experience of Williams and others suggests that the majority of veterans return to civilian life at roughly the status they left it. Despite the tremendous impact of the war on national life, the country as a whole has managed to maintain a peacetime psychology. Prosperity, rather than his military service, assures the typical veteran of a job. Most of those who end up in college or vocational training programs would probably have had the same opportunity without Viet Nam. It has been a nasty, inglorious war that most Americans did not understand and would prefer to forget. Of necessity, some of this negative feeling rubs off on the men who have fought valiantly in it. But for them, it is enough to be back in the real world.

# The Cost of Commitment

Over the past ten years in South Viet Nam, the number of U.S. servicemen has swollen to more than half a million. The dead now exceed 36,000. This table shows how the U.S. commitment and its cost in lives have grown. (The figures for troops in Viet Nam are as of the end of each year; the number of dead is the total for that year.)

Year

U.S. Forces U.S. Deaths

969	(to	June	7)	. 537	500	5,429
968				536	,100	14,592
967				. 486	,600	9,378
966				385	,300	5,008
965				184	,300	1,369
964				23	300	147
963				16	300	78
962				11	300	31
961				. 3	,200	11
960				. 2	,000	0





THIEU AT SAIGON PALACE

# THE PROSPECTS FOR DISENGAGEMENT

BEHIND President Richard Nixon's decision to begin troop withdrawals there is a concept for disengaging the U.S. from the war. It is more than a vision, but less than a blueprint. It is flexible, ready to be modified with the shift of events. What Nixon does next depends largely on the Communist response to his announcement last week at Midway. While there are perils in the choice he made, it may prove to be a significant step toward ending the longest war in American history

Nixon's advisers had proposed that he announce withdrawal of as many as 70,000 troops, but with characteristic caution Nixon chose a minimum opening figure of 25,000 (see box, page 18). The number may nonetheless reach 70,000 by the end of this year. Nixon was careful to speak at Midway of their "replacement" by South Vietnamese forces. Defense Secretary Melvin Laird added to the lexicon by christening the plan "Project Vietnamization ' " By whatever name, Nixon's move was a guarded gamble for peace in South Viet Nam. By cutting back however slightly the

number of Americans fighting in Viet Nam, Nixon sought to mollify the domestic impatience with the war; that dissatisfaction had helped him win election last November. There were countervailing risks. Although some of the troops will be pulled back no farther than Okinawa, Nixon would surely evoke deafening protest in the U.S. in the highly unlikely event that serious military reversals made it necessary to send some of the troops back. The greater danger, however, is that the enemy will simply ignore Nixon's initiative-on the assumption that continued popular opposition to the war will eventually force Nixon to concede the Communists a victory at the bargaining table that they have not won on the battlefield.

Nixon therefore devised an intricate strategy directed at Hanoi and the National Liberation Front. By meeting with South Viet Nam's President Nguven Van Thieu and spelling out the common ground between Washington and Saigon, he tried to underline the solidarity of the two governments in the face of Communist efforts to divide and conquer. In giving more combat responsibility to the South Vietnamese. Nixon advertised U.S. confidence-such as it is-in the combat readiness of Saigon's forces. He aims to convince the Communists that they must negotiate with Thieu and not hold out in the expectation of dealing with a more malleable successor. If Nixon can dull dissent at home while maintaining pressure in the field, the Communists may become more amenable to concluding a settlement in Paris or at least to scaling down the level of fighting.

# Running Alongside

The Nixon approach carries other concomitant difficulties. The effectiveness of many South Vietnamese combat units remains in doubt, and no one knows for sure whether they will be able to maintain the present military balance as U.S. troops are withdrawn. One South Vietnamese official recently told Secretary of State William Rogers: "It's like a man learning to ride a bicycle. We think we can do it, but you never know until the man running alongside takes his hand away." Thanks to better training, better equipment and massive support from U.S. air and artillery, the South Vietnamese are improving. But they are still no match for the North Vietnamese, especially in leadership and fighting zeal.

As a consequence, Nixon feels, U.S. troops can be withdrawn from Viet Nam unilaterally only to the extent that the pull-out does not appreciably reduce the allies' ability to fight the war. If forces are removed faster than the South Vietnamese can effectively replace them, then Hanoi and the N L.F. need only wait until the allied military position is so weak that Washington and Saigon must accept Communist terms. Diplomatically, everything depends upon convincing Hanoi and the N.L.F. that the U.S. cutback reflects confidence rather than a slow collapse

# No Sign of Progress

If the North Vietnamese reciprocate the troop withdrawals, the U.S. can remove its forces at a faster rate without upsetting the military and thus the bargaining equation. When he returned to Washington last week, the President addressed a challenge to Hanoi: "We have opened wide the door to peace, and now we invite the leaders of North Viet Nam to walk with us through that door either by withdrawing their forces from South Viet Nam as we have withdrawn ours, or by negotiating in Paris, or through both avenues. We believe this is the time for them to act.'

The immediate response was hardly encouraging. North Vietnamese troops launched three sharp ground attacks and for the first time in three months there was fighting in the demilitarized zone. The superficial signs in Paris were, if anything, worse. After the 21st formal meeting in the year-old negotiations. U.S. Spokesman Harold Kaplan ad-mitted: "There is no evidence that Midway has contributed to the progress of the conference."

North Vietnamese rhetoric often varies from real intentions, of course, but in an interview with TIME-LIFE, Le Duc Tho, a Politburo member and special adviser to Chief Negotiator Xuan Thuy, squelched-at least for the record -the idea that North Viet Nam might match the U.S. move. "Since U.S. troop strength in South Viet Nam amounts to over half a million," said The "the withdrawal of such a very small number as 25,000 means nothing. Tho offered a gentle reproof to Henry Cabot Lodge, head of the U.S. negotiators. Said Tho: "Talking to me, Mr. Lodge said that it took him five years to understand the Vietnamese. But I don't think he has fully understood. It takes time.

# Old Wine, New Bottle

The N.L.F. also took the occasion last week to announce that it had set up a "provisional revolutionary government" at a clandestine meeting that took place as Nison and Thieu were conferring on a Midway. At its head is Huyn Tan Phat, 56, an architect and Viet Minh veteran who is general secretary of the N.L.F. central committee; the defense minister is Lieut. General Tran Van Tra, a North Vietnamese who is the Communist army commander in South Viet Name, the for-



THO (FACING CAMERA) & THUY IN PARIS Legitimacy belongs to the victor.

eign minister is Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, already a familiar figure at the Paris negotiations. Madame Binh celebrated her new eminence by proclaiming the goal of "complete victory" over Saigon and Washington.

The N.L.F. simply declared itself to be a legitimate government, betting on the fact that in such cases, historically, legitimacy belongs to the ultimate victor. State Department Spokesman Robert McCloskey dismissed the new government as "the same old wine in a new botlet," but experts in Washington and Saigon agreed that the change was not without point. The N.L.E. is planily trying to upgrade its status from revolutionary cabal to one of parity in the world's eyes with the existing Saigon mitton came from 15 countries—including North Viet Nam, Cuba, North Korea, Algerna and he U.S. Shorth Korea, Algerna and he U.S. Shorth

This maneuver may strengthen the N.L.F.'s bid for a role in a coalition government in South Viet Nam before elections are held-one of the ten N.L.F. points announced May 8. Creation of the provisional government may also embarrass Thieu. He has reluctantly offered to talk with the N.L.F., but he might renege if it meant dealing with a self-proclaimed regime that purports to be more legitimate than his own. Thieu denounced the N.L.F. move as "a fabrication concocted by a group of people who take cover in jungles without daring to disclose their location." It is, he said, "a propaganda trick" that has changed nothing.

In Saigon, the announced reduction panicked some businessmen and depressed real estate prices. The government raised taxes—the price of beer, for example, will go up 55%—to finance anticipated increases in the cost of the

# How the Troop Decision Was Made

Even before he won the Republican nomination for President in 1968, Richard Nixon proposed "a fuller enlistment of our Vietnames calles in their own defense." TIME Washington Bureau Chief Hugh Sidey traces the evolution of the Nixon Administration's efforts to carry out that aim through the Midway meeting.

N January, when he acquired both the responsibility, and the information to deal with the war's internations. Nature fielt that he should not meet with South Viet. Nam's Squiyer Van Thieu until well after he had publicly outlined his own ideas on ending the war. Then, early in May, the Viet Cong proposed its tem-point plan in Paris, and less than a week later the President responded with his own eight-point proposal (Tsuk, May ponded with how own eight-point proposal (Tsuk, May ponded with host on the proposal transition of the

The U.S. military had already been long at work on upgrading South Vietnamese forces. But the enemy's winter offensive was soon in progress. When the attacks abated somewhat, firm plans could be made to begin supplanting American troops with South Vietnamese.

In Saigon, Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker worked with the Thieu government; two days before the Midway meeting, National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger flew to the summer White House in San Clemente, Calif., with a dratt of the troop-reduction statement.

From the start, roughly 25,000 was the target figure. The President could have rounded up every cook and elerk and made a more dramatic gesture, recalling as many as 100,000. He rejected that idea: to act responsibly in his view meant pulling out a maximum of 70,000 troops this year, and to remove them all at once would have looked too much like what White House insiders call "an elegant bug."

out." In any event, there would be opportunity later to take out more support personnel. To underline his seriousness, Nixon felt that most of the men to be replaced initially must be combat troops.

When Nixon and Thieu met in the modest house of the U.S. base commander at Midway, Nixon moved quickly to the troop question. "We have claimed for years that we were getting stronger," Their replace," If it is so, we have to be willing to see some Americans leave." These agreed that the announcement might help the break the unbilical eard to your people." The troop reolacement would not, said Thieu.

After an hour of detailed discussion, Nixon was satisfied that Thieu was in genuine agreement. He brought out the U.S. draft statement and asked: "Is it agreeable then that when we go out for pictures I read this statement?" A Thieu aide, Nguyen Phu Duc, wrote a companion statement for Thieu. There was more discussion and some minor changes in each draft.

Nixon asked his secretary, Rose Mary Woods, to type the Thieu text. Because there was no typewriter in the house, Miss Woods went outside and picked her way through the islands ubuquitous gonopsy brids in search of one. After 45 minutes, she returned. While they waited, the two Presidents talked of problems of military lead-enhip and negotiating strategy. Later in the day they would discuss political conditions and economic reform in South Viet Nam. But the main business at hand was that of troop replacement and they took a break to go into the bright sunlight and face the press. Nixon began "I have decided to order the immediate redeployment from Viet Nam of the divisional equivalent of approximately 25,000 mon..."

war. But some influential Vietnamese feel that Nixon's action will help Thieu.

"It shows that the U.S. commitment here is not unlimited," says 'Tran Ngoc Chau, secretary of the lower house of the National Assembly, and therefore it should encourage greater political unity in South Viet Nam. While Thieu recomposition of the National Assembly, and the Proposition of the National Assembly and the National Ass

The question of what kind of regime is to rule in Saigon remained crucial. In their communiqué, Nixon and Thieu rejected the imposition of "any particular form of government, such as coalition, without regard to the will of the people of South Viet Nam." This could mean that if a coalition were to come about as the result of free elections, the U.S. would not oppose it or try to keep Thieu in power. Thieu now concedes that elections could be held before they are scheduled under the constitution (1971) and that the N.L.F. could take part. The more immediate problem is how the elections are to be brought about. The Communists demand Thieu's departure from power, or at least a coalition, even before elections are held. They imply that if elections took place with Thieu in command, he would have an enormous advantage at the polls, regardless of any kind of international supervision that might be devised. The U.S., in turn, argues that forcing Thieu into a coalition now, let alone forcing him out of office, would hopelessly prejudge the polling and damage his chances of proving himself in a fair electoral contest

# A Mixed Response

In the U.S., many expressed reservations about Nixon's move. John Stennis, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and a charter hawk. doubted that "South Vietnamese forces will be able to rapidly assume this burden of fighting and be effective." Senator George McGovern spoke for many critics of the war: "I don't see that as anything more than token action." Yet there was also a sense of relief. In Manhattan, Hubert Humphrey declared the prospects for political settlement to be brighter now than they have been for a long time." John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, one of the Senate's most respected doves, found the announcement "a step forward and a very hopeful sign." He added that the U.S. should continue with step-by-step withdrawal of all its troops. "We have done enough,"

Some Democrats, among them National Committee Chairman Fred Harris, complained that Nixon could continue buying time with the U.S. public almost indefinitely by a series of small withdrawals—which is a possibility implicit in Nixon's approach. Averell Harriman, chief negotiator at Paris in the Johnson Administration, had a more

trenchant criticism. "This is a replacement, not a withdrawal," said he. "The first order of business is the reduction of violence. We still have orders for allout pressure on the enemy. How can leave we expect the enemy to end their fighting if we don't? We should be taking a time more defensive position and at the same time demand that the other side respond. I believe they will:

# A Necessary Reversal

Whether or not the other side responds, the U.S. will probably decide in August to bring out a second batch of servicemen before the end of 1969. After that, predictions become murkier, since the rate of removal will depend on the level of fighting, the progress of Saigon's army and developments at the Paris talks. Whatever happens, there will almost certainly be U.S. troops in Viet Nam for at least a few years to come, Before Midway, the talk in Saigon was of reducing American forces by about 50,000 every six months; even at that accelerated rate, it would be more than five years before the last U.S. soldier embarked for home. One well-informed U.S. official in Saigon believes that there will be 200,000 American troops left in South Viet Nam by mid-1971.

What progress will have been made by that time toward reaching a political settlement is another matter entirely. While some at the White House insist that Hanoi is already emitting signals that it wants to talk seriously about President Nixon's political proposals of last month, the suspicion grows among the U.S. delegation in Paris that the Communists may not be interested at all in negotiating a settlement now. According to this theory, they will simply wait it out until U.S. public opinion forces Nixon to accept peace on their terms. If the Communists accepted free elections, the U.S. estimates, they would win from 15% to 30% of the vote. But if they can hold out for a bargained coalition, the Communists might well be able to claim a larger share in the government

Unless the Communists remain altogether intransigent, however, President Nixon will be able to continue on the course he has set toward disengaging U.S. forces and replacing them with South Vietnamese. In the hope of obtaining peace, he has called a halt to the strategy that began in 1965 when Lyndon Johnson ordered massive increases in the U.S. troop commitment to Viet Nam. Though Johnson himself began to brake the process last year, reversing such momentum completely is difficult-all the more so because so many American lives have been invested in it. But it has become clear that such a reversal is now necessary if Nixon is to retrieve the situation in Viet Nam. Ultimately, the South Vietnamese will have to bear the major part of their own military and political

# THE ADMINISTRATION

Price of Neglect

President Nixon gained no congressional plaudits on issues other than the war when he returned from Midway. Instead, he had to turn at once to Capstead, the had to turn at once to Capstead, the had the head of the constant of the control of the c

 TAXES. House liberals balked at extending the 10% income tax surcharge, the most potent weapon available against



MANNED ORBITAL LABORATORY

Opposing interests and priorities.

inflation (see BUSINESS). In return for their support, they demanded a more thoroughgoing tax-reform package, including the oil-depletion allowances that have become a symbol of tax privilege. Only a last-minute personal intercession by Nixon saved the bill.

THE SEASON SETS THE CONTROL OF THE SEASON SETS THE SEASON SETS THE SEASON SETS THE SEASON SETS TO SEASON SE

tiny as that of any other department, instead of going directly to the President—though skeptics doubted whether the new ruling would last beyond the first showdown between Mayo and Laird.

 ARMS CONTROL. A bipartisan group of fo Senators and Representatives urged the President to halt tests of missiles equipped with MIRVs, or Multiple Indetegration of the Control of the Control Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union have been testing multiple warheads, though the Russians are thought to be considerably behind. The critics argue that if the test outline, arms minitation negoties that if the test of the Control of the Control of the Control in the Control of the tiple warheads, they insist, will only commit both sides irrevocably to anti-ballistic missile programs and to another round in the arms race.

FOREIGN AID. Congressional liberals have threatened to withhold support from the \$2.65 billion foreign-aid bill. It is a risky maneuver, since the Administration could saddle them with the political blame if the bill fails to pass. But it is also a measure of their discontent that they are taking that risk to dramatize their view that domestic

needs have higher priority.

• CAMPUS UNREST. Congressmen have readied a spate of bills to suppress campus disorder—and thus caused a fast turnaround by the Administration. As re-

cently as mid-May, Attorney General John Mirchell assured Congress that there was no need for any such new measures. Yet last week, the White House put out word that it was considering legislation extending to federal courts the power to issue injunctions preventing students from disrupting classes. The aim is to head off more stringent legislation originating in Congress.

For an Administration that prided itself on cool and detailed planning, the new need to put out sudden brushfires in Congress was rather embarrassing. Once lost, communication with Congress cannot readily be re-established in the face of widening differences.



PRESIDENT Nixon has been in office long enough [2] weeks) to rate some intriguing questions about himself of the present some interest of the present some interest of the present some interest the present some interest of the present some interest some interest of the present some interest some

Economist Arthur Burns, often conservative on economic questions, so far has not proved as influential as expected. Counsellor to the President with Cabinet rank, he was originally thought to be the Administration's masterimid for domestic policy. Recently, however, he has been overruled on some issues, such as repeal of the limestement to recently when Youn insteance to Treasury Secretic when Youn insteance to Treasury Secretic when Youn insteance to Treasury Secretic West Parkon instead to Treasury Secretic West Parkon in Secr

retary David Kennedy). One of the most influential domestic-affairs aides is Daniel Patrick Moynhan, staff chief of the President's Council for Urban Affairs. At first considered a token Democrat who would have little impact, Moynhan has weighed heavily in developing programs on welfare and other urban problems. Leading Cabinet officers, in a rough order of in-

Leading Ladinet onliners, in a Trough Order of motion of the color of

# THE SUPREME COURT

# Some Heretical Views

The Judiciary Committee hearing was routine. Floor discussion was for the most part amiable, taking only a scant three hours last week before the Senate voted 74 to 3 to approve the nomination of Warren Earl Burger as Chief Justice of the United States. He will be sworn in when the Supreme Court concludes its current term.

The speed and case of the confirmation process made it seem as if Burger were the blandest of judges. That is hardly the case In his 13 years as a federal appeals judge in Washington, Burger compiled a record of juddicially unfashionable toughness in the criminal field (Time Cover, May 30), Just how far his somewhat heretical positions go of a symposium held a year agolie i the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, Cala

Offered Sugnestions. Burger questioned the principle of trial by jury, the shield offered by the Fifth Amendment and the presumption of innocence until a defendant is proved guilty. He called the American adversary system of criminal justice "inefficient and wasteful." He offered a number of suggestions and comments.

▶ "If we could climinate the jury, we would save a lot of time. You can try a case without a jury in one day that would take you a week or tow weeks with a jury." In the civil law system in Europe, he said, "they never let one judge do anything. So if one judge in three is defective, which is probably about par for the American system, there are in Denmark or Holland or Sweden two other judges to offset him." ▶ "I am no longer sure that the Fifth b"." If am no longer sure that the Fifth

Sweden two other judges to offset him."

"I am no longer sure that the Fifth
Amendment concept, in its present form
and as presently applied and interpreted,
has all the validity attributed to it. I
am talking about requiring a defendant
to testify."

▶ The presumption of innocence, in criminal cases. Burger suggested, may be inconsistent with American civil procedure: "Certainly you have heard—and outly only one should not convict a man out of his own mouth. The fact is that we establish responsibility and liability and we convict in all the areas of civil higation out of the mouth of the defendant."

Burger also questioned the practice of barring from court evidence obtained in violation of a law or a constitutional right (such as that gained by illegal wiretap). And he accused defense lawyers of "clogging the system by an excess of zeal" when they use every available legal means to clear their client.

How much of Burger's philosophy will emerge in the form of specific decisions is uncertain. He will have just one vote in nine, Still, the view from the Chief Justice's chair will be markedly different from what it has been during the 16 years that Earl Warren has occupied it.







LEWIS AT MINE DISASTER (1951)

NEGOTIATING (1940) RECEIVING DEGREE (1957)

Not as a feeble mendicant, but in a captain's thundering voice.

# LABOR

# Demon, Sovereign and Savior

When we control the production of coal, we hold the vitals of our society right in our hands. I can squeeze, twist, and pull until we get the inevitable victory.

-John Llewellyn Lewis

Through four stormy decades, he was absolute sovereign of the men who worked the mines. To them he was a sayior. His demagogic, often ruthless tactics alienated other Americans from Presidents on down. He gloried in playing the heavy in the drama of labor's awakening. When his sonorous voice boomed "Strike!", the nation's cartoonists went to work etching his famous eyebrows to give him a demonic visage. have pleaded your case," he told his miners, "not in the quavering tones of a feeble mendicant asking alms, but in the thundering voice of the captain of a mighty host, demanding the rights to which free men are entitled." John L. Lewis, 89, died last week at Washington, D.C.'s Doctors Hospital. he had been president emeritus of the United Mine Workers since 1960. Remembering his years of active leadership. the miners appropriately honored him by walking out of the pits for a fourday period of mourning.

Witch Hunt, Lewis was born to his iob. His father, an immigrant miner from Wales, was blacklisted by his company's management for his role in a bitter, late-19th century strike. John L. quit school before he finished the eighth grade, and by age 15 he had followed his father to the pits. In Colorado he mined coal. Then it was copper in Montana, silver in Utah, gold in Arizona. In 1911, Lewis went to work for Samuel Gompers, then president of the American Federation of Labor and the greatest labor tactician of the era. Because he could back his sharp tongue with a strong, 210-lb. frame, Lewis soon became a labor organizer. Often, days of organizing in small company towns ended in fistfights with union busters.

In 1920, Lewis became president of the United Mine Workers, a post he was to hold until 1960. During his first decade as union chief, economic conordinate the control of the contr

Enrolling Steel. Realizing that labor's future depended on organizing the unskilled. Lewis and other leaders rebelled against the exclusivity of the craft-oriented A.F.L. They formed the Congress of Industrial Organizations with Lewis as president. The C.I.O. extended unionization to the unskilled and semiskilled. organizing by industry instead of by trade. After rapid successes enrolling steel and auto workers, the union was firmly established. In 1937 Lewis had his first serious altercation with Franklin Roosevelt, triggered by a rash of "Little Steel" strikes. During one of them, in Chicago, police shot and killed ten workers. When Roosevelt was asked what he thought of the continuing management-labor clashes, he replied: "A plague on both your houses.

Lewis, a political independent whose union had contributed \$500,000 to Rossevelt's 1936 campaign, was enraged but still able to frame one of his most eloquent condemnations: "It ill behooves one who has supped at labor's table and who has been sheltered in labor's thouse to curse with equal ferror and versaries when they become locked in deadly embrace."

He truel for revenge against Rossevelt in the 1940 elections, but could not rally his C.I.O. workers to vote as a bloc against his archenemy. Lewis backed Wendell Willke, ayning that the Republican was better fitted to keep America out of a war in Europe. In effect, Lewis isolationsism was a guise for his vendetta against Rossevelt He vowed to leave the presidency of the C.I.O. if Rossevel Worker and When that he took his United Mine Workers out of the alliance. He returned hriefly to differentiation has been alliance. He returned hriefly to differentiation has the A.F.L., only to quit the federation be-

cause he refused to comply with a Taft-Hartley Act provision requiring union officials to swear they were not Communists. That stipulation, he said, was "damnable, vicious, unwholesome and a slave statute."

Lewis never recovered the prestige lost in his exodus from the C.I.O., though he still enjoyed the admiration and trust of his mine workers. During the 1940s, he called a series of coal strikes that won fringe benefits and wage increases. But some of the strikes cost Lewis and the union whopping fines for contempt of court.

Seeking Reform. Lewis had little use for other union leaders. He called Walter Reuther a "pseudo-intellectual nitwit" and characterized George Meany as "an honest plumber trying to abol-ish sin in the labor movement." He continued to be the loner, seeking reform in his own style. His crusade for better mine conditions finally succeeded in part when Congress passed the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act in 1952. He recognized the need to modernize mining techniques and worked with management to spur automation in the industry, even though it cost some miners their jobs.

Biographer Saul Alinsky wrote: "The key to the understanding of Lewis' personality is to be found in his extraordinary tenacity of purpose. Inconsistencies or contradictions create no conflict in Lewis." In private, he was a gregarious jokester who mimicked anyone, including himself. A prodigious reader, he was able in his speeches to bend the Bible and Shakespeare to the needs of the inarticulate men in the

The austere, fearsome public image he projected was tailored to his purpose. For years it made him America's leading bogeyman. When union public relations men learned that mothers invoked the name of Lewis to keep rebellious children in line, they added in a biographical sketch that Lewis "feels at home with children and knows how to please them." To his own children, Lewis would often say: "He that tooteth not his own horn, the same shall not be tooted."

# CRIME

# Taping the Mafia

Sam: "Jack, what happened to Pickles two weeks after he broke away from me?"

Jack: "He got killed." Marty: "The guy in Elizabeth, huh?"

Sam: "Yeah, he was away two weeks. I told him that was what was going to happen to him. So when people don't want to listen . . Marty: "He tried to be a big man?"

The dialogue sounds like a Grade-B gangster movie on late-night television, but the script is from life. It is a chillingly real conversation that took place among three Mafia hoodlums in their hangout. The subject of the session:



DeCAVALCANTE Grade B dialogue scripted from life.

methods of dispatching associates to a better world. This and other candid peeps at organized crime became available last week when a 2,000-page transcript of FBI tape recordings was filed in Federal District Court in Newark, N.J. The tapes were presented by the district attorney in connection with extortion-conspiracy charges against Simone Rizzo ("Sam the Plumber") De-Cavalcante, a New Jersey Mafia leader. The FBI had bugged four mob hangouts in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, including the office of DeCavalcante's Kenilworth, N.J., plumbing-supply firm.

The transcript referred to eight murders. These facts, however, cannot be used to prosecute anyone because such bugging and wiretapping was illegal at the time. Subsequent legislation legalizing eavesdropping under certain circumstances is not retroactive.

Protecting People, Much of the recorded conversation centered on the fine points of murder, and it was clear that, in the underworld, neatness counts. The 1951 gunning down of Willie Moretti in a Cliffside Park, N.J., restaurant was distasteful to Angelo DeCarlo, who had a better idea: "Now like you got four or five guys in the room. You know they're going to kill you. They say, Tony Boy wants to shoot you in the head and leave you in the street, or would you rather take this [a fatal drug], we put you behind your wheel, we don't have to embarrass your family. That's what they should have done to Willie. Sure, that man never should have been disgraced like that." Added DeCavalcante: "It leaves a bad taste, We're out to protect people." At times, the mob seems to have a conscience,

Mobsters were overheard deploring the 1962 hand-grenade slaying of "Cadillac Charlie" Cavallaro in Youngstown. Ohio, because the blast also killed the victim's eleven-year-old son.

Another time, DeCarlo told of the stylish dispatching of a cooperative victim named Itchie: "I said, 'You gotta go, why not let me hit you right in the heart and you won't feel a thing?' He said, 'I'm innocent, Ray, but if you've got to do it . . .' So I hit him in the heart and it went right through him. Some victims were less cooperative, such as the one many years ago described by Anthony Boiardo, son of Ruggiero ("the Boot") Boiardo: "The Boot hit him with a hammer. The guy goes down and he comes up. So I got a crowbar this big, Ray. Eight shots in the head. What do you think he finally did to me? He spit at me.'

Meatball. Efficient disposal of bodies was also a subject of great interest on the tapes. In one 1964 conversation, De-Cavalcante and two other men discussed the various types of devices available. One suggested, in the manner of Ian Fleming's Goldfinger, a machine that smashes up old automobiles. DeCavalcante said that he was looking for one that pulverized garbage. Also mentioned was a gadget capable of turning a human body into a "meatball."

Besides murder, there were heady whiffs of political corruption. The tapes indicated a familiarity between mobsters and New Jersey public officials. In one conversation, which the FBI said took place shortly before the 1964 election, DeCavalcante promised Democrat Thomas Dunn unlimited support in Dunn's campaign for mayor of Elizabeth, N.J. DeCavalcante then asked: "Do you think we could get any city work?" Dunn (laughing): "Well, maybe. When the tapes were released, Mayor Dunn denied that the mobster had any influence over his administration and said that he had not been aware of De-Cavalcante's mob connections when he accepted a \$100 campaign contribution.

The tapes also show Mafia Chieftain Joseph Zicarelli bragging of interceding with "my friend the Congressman," Cornelius Gallagher, Gallagher denied involvement with Zicarelli and said that the mobster was merely "name dropping." Last year Gallagher was accused by LIFE Magazine of interceding with police on Zicarelli's behalf. The Democratic Congressman denied that charge and was re-elected last fall.

Cops and Robbers. The mobsters also traded advice about corrupting police and businessmen. DeCavalcante: "You know, Tony, 30 or 35 years ago, if a [obscenity] was even seen talking to a cop they looked to hit him the next day. They figured he must be doing business with the cop." DeCarlo: "Today, if you don't meet them and pay them, you can't operate." Another time, Gaetano ("Corky") Vastola explained how to set up a dummy union: When I sit down with the boss [management]. I tell him how much it's gonna cost him in welfare, hospitalization and all that. I make a package out of it. [I say] it's gonna cost \$100,000 a year. Lefs' cut it in half and forget about it. I show him how much I'm gonna save lhim] by walking away."

But even the Cosa Nostra hoods have worries. In 1965, DeCavalicante forbade the killing of a Negro construction work: en who assaulted a Mafisors son with a shovel during a fight. The Negro was considered the state of the state of the Negro was considered to the state of the st

# TRIALS

The Algiers Verdict

The role of the ghetto policeman. said the Kerner Commission report, "is already one of the most difficult in our society. He must deal daily with a range of problems and people that test his patience, ingenuity, character and courage in ways that few of us are ever tested." Patrolman Ronald August, then 28, faced his test on the night of July 26, 1967, when Detroit writhed in the grip of the decade's worst ghetto riot. He was one of three policemen who, with state troopers and National Guardsmen, rushed into the Algiers Motel seeking a reported sniper. They rounded up nine young Negro men and two teen-age white prostitutes. When the lawmen left, three of the Negroes were dead. August admitted shotgunning Auburey Pollard, 19, but claimed self-defense. He was charged with first-degree murder. Last week an all-white jury took the white patrolman's word for it.

The setting for the month-long trial was Mason, Mich., a farm town 90 miles from Detroit's Negro ghettos. That site was chosen because of heavy publicity in Detroit. In the old, tree-shaded courthouse, the jury of local folk listened as 48 witnesses described the night of horror. They accused the police officers of beating and threatening the people in the motel in a desperate attempt to find a sniper who proved in the end to have been imaginary. Witnesses, some with criminal records, charged that August took Pollard into a room, that there was a shot, and that August emerged saving: "He didn't even kick." Prosecutor Avery Weiswasser contended that August and the two other cops, David Senak and Robert Paille, "chose to kill first and investigate later.

Fomily Mon. August, who sat mute and ramrod-straight through most of the trial, was pictured by his lawyer as an "upstanding family man" who "married his high school sweetheart." The patrolman admitted shooting Pollard when the youth "came at me." He also acknowledged making conflicting statements immediately after the incident, saying that he had feared that he would be blamed for all three deaths. Judge William Beer, in a highly unusual move, ruled out conviction on lesser charges and directed the jury either to acquit August or to find him guilty of first-degree murder, with a mandatory life sentence. The judge reasoned that the prosecution's contentions ruled out manslaughter or second-degree murder. The all-or-nothing choice, however, made conviction more difficult. After two hours and 50 minutes, the eleven women and one man voted for acquittal. Pollard's mother, Rebecca, wept bitterly: "I didn't look for them to find him guilty. All whites stick together.

August, Senak and Paille, who have been suspended from the force, still face federal conspiracy charges of violating the civil rights of all eleven motel occupants, including the other two who were killed, Carl Cooper, 17, and Fred Temple, 18. Exactly how they died has never been explained.

# NEW YORK

Civic Responsibility

New York's Mayor John Lindsay is beset by Republican conservatives intent on denying him G.O.P. renomination this week, and by middle-class voters discontented over late garbage trucks, rising rents and the high crime rate. He has somehow managed to endure a campaign of catcalls and criticism. It was obviously the last straw when a radio chatter host named Barry Gray, awaiting Lindsay's overdue appearance on his nighttime show, began berating him in absentia for city ills ranging from street violence to pavement potholes.

En route to the station, Lindsay listened to the program over his car radio with increasing rage. When he finally arrived, he delivered a steamy counterattack. Then Gray needled the mayor about illegally parked cars near the studio-autos that bore no traffic tickets. Lindsay retorted: "Why didn't you report them?" Finally, after a lecture to Gray on civic responsibility, the mayor stood up and grumped out of the studio. Spotting a limousine awaiting another of Gray's radio guests parked in front of the Madison Avenue building housing the studio, Lindsay shouted at the bewildered chauffeur: "Whose car is this? This is a bus stop-get out of here immediately!" In panic, the driver moved forward, then back, but was cut off by the mayor's car maneuvering out of an adjacent parking spot. Lindsay climaxed the confrontation by leaping out of his car to bellow again: told you to get this car out of here -now move!" At which the driver fled in panic.



THE event caused less of a sensation than it might have in an earlier age when man was less accustomed to toping with nature's creations. Last week the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers turned of Niagara Falls, and as the final load of fill dam half a mile upstream, the 182foot American Falls on the U.S. side of the Niagara River dwindled to a trickle. Its 1.5-million-gallons-ascoond flow was diverted to the Canod flow wa an Horseshoe Falls for six months, giving the Army engineers time to bore holes in the soft shale and decide how to prevent further erosion. Two slides, one in 1931, and another in 1934, have already piled an estimated 276,000 tons of rock and earth at the matter fartfall on, the dry bed yielded the bodies of two persons—that of a man who jumped into the river the day before and a woman whose death remained uncelyplained.

# THE CITY

# Contagion in Minneapolis

Politically as well as culturally, Minneapolis is one of the Midwest's more progressive cities. Its civic-minded busnessmen like their suits conservative and their politics enlightened. Since the 1940s, the Democratic-Farmer-Labor coalition has produced a series of dynamic liberal mayors, including Hubert Humphrey and the incumbent, Arthur Martain. Thus the mayoral camlosign of a political novice whose principal pledge was 'to take the handcuffs off the police." Yet that is just what happened last week.

Police Detective Charles S. Stenvig, 41, an independent with a ragtag organization, rolled over Republican City Council President Dan Cohen. Stenvig took city hall with 62% of the vote, meanwhile produced no specific programs, even in the law-and-order field. He answered personal criticism with the reassurance: "I'm not goofy."

Indeed he was not. Lacking a paid campaign staff, he relied on 800 volunteer workers to spread his message. Three-quarters of the city's 796-man poliee force helped. The Rev. Joseph Head, former national chaplain of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, summed up the winner's appeal: "Our community is plagued by militants, beating up Kitch raping women. Somebody had to take

Another factor was the continuing decay of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor organization. The party split over the 1966 gubernatorial nomination, then lost the election. The Humphrey-McCarthy trivalry last year helped the process along. Naftalin, a Humphrey protégé 25 years ago declined to run for a fifth two-

City invalry has year helped the process along, marging Martain, a Humphrey protige 25 years orde, ago, declined to run for a fifth two-

MAYOR-ELECT STENVIG & WIFE
Manifestation of the "law and order" psychology.

amassing majorities of up to 81% in working-class areas. Cohen, 33. a Harvard Law School graduate, had the backing of the city's powerful labor leaders and the endorsement of big names, including Richard Nixon and Minnesota Senator Eugene McCarthy. Yet Stenvig carried all but two of the city's 13 wards. The result was all the more astonishing because, with a Negro population of just 3%, Minneapolis has suffered relatively little racial tension. Nor has there been much campus unrest. Like most cities, Minneapolis has a crime problem-though not one of panic proportions.

Confining Decay, But the voters learn about upheavals elsewhere, on TV and in the press; fear is contagious. While Cohen put on a slick, wellfinanced campaign, Stenvig had only to state repeatedly that he would make the city safe for everyone. Cohen ising taxes, pollution and other issues, and attacked Stenvig as a Northernstyle George Wallace. The detective year term this year, and his withdrawal created a vacuum that left many voters without allegiance to any commanding personality.

Color It Green, The Stenvig vote was another manifestation of the conservative law-and-order psychology exhibited in last month's Los Angeles mayoral vote. Lower-middle-class families particularly have been voting their fear and anger, and the depth of their feeling has been underestimated by some experienced politicians. The outcome in Minneapolis may also be a hint of things to come in other elections this year and next. As for the mayor-elect, he is not primarily concerned with state or national affairs. He must figure out how to run a city with a population of 490,-000. After being assured of victory, Stenvig promised supporters at a beery party that he would consult widely before making any decisions. But he stressed: "My chief adviser is going to be God, and don't you forget it." Mrs. Marion Olson, a mother of six who managed Stenvig's campaign, confided that she had chosen green for Stenvig posters because "God loves green, or he wouldn't have made so many things green. And I wanted to show that God was on our side." Said one of the celebrants: "There's no false sophistication here".

# Intransigence in Charleston

From the beginning, the issues in the Charleston, S.C., nospital strike have been union recognition and official intransigence. For three months the walk-out by 360 black workers—most of them women of limited skills earning only \$1.30 to \$1.60 per hour—has disrupted the gracious antebellum city with the threat of racial violence.

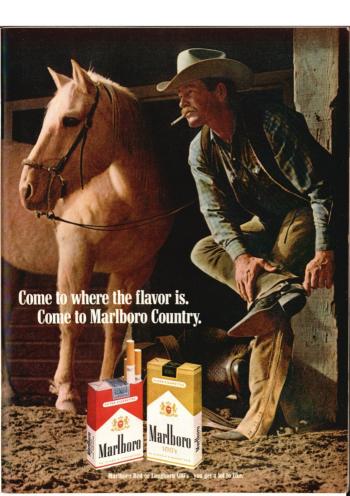
Authorities of Medical College Hos-

pital and Charleston County Hospital, initially backed by the state, took the position early in the dispute that they could not legally bargain with a union of employees paid out of public funds, to the state of the state of the state of the best durfer strong pressure, a 9 pm. curlew enforced by National Guardsmen to the spring tourist trade. A Negro boycott of white businesses also did economic damage to the city. National publicity was mostly unfavorable and labor and civil richs troups.

Heavy Sentence, Negotiations finally began four weeks ago, but were kept secret, presumably to save face for the hospital management. Governor Robert Mc-Nair, for whom the strike was becoming a political embarrassment, pushed for a settlement. Incentive came from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which threatened to cut off federal financial assistance to the hospitals if they declined to rehire twelve union members who had been fired. This threat was too much even for Dr. William McCord, president of Medical College Complex and a firm opponent of union recognition.

By early last week, a settlement granting most of the union's demands was imminent, Local 1199B of the New Yorkbased Drug and Hospital Employees Union would get de facto recognition. There would be pay increases. The dozen employees would be reinstated. Then Senator Strom Thurmond announced in Washington that HEW Secretary Robert Finch had promised not to cut off federal assistance without a personal investigation. This assurance, passed on to the hospitals, caused the settlement to collapse. Said McCord in a one-sentence letter to the union: "Please be advised, that the offer to employ the twelve discharged workers made June 9, 1969, is now withdrawn as of Thursday, June 12, 1969, at 5 p.m.

At week's end, the strikers were gearing for a bitter struggle. They owed to make night marches through white neighborhoods all summer. The International Longshoremen's Association privately told McNair that it would close down the busy port of Charleston if the strike is not settled promptly.





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# THE WORLD

# THE POST-DE GAULLE ERA BEGINS

AS France prepared to elect its first new President in more than a decade, the two surviving candidates to succeed Charles de Gaulle virtually reversed their earlier campaign strategies and styles. Internet President Adain Power of the Charles of

voice, Ex-Premier Georges Ponpidou, by, contrast, was far more relaxed in Round 2, affecting the role of statesman, visiting only a few provincial towns in a casual, confident gesture of noblesse oblige. The switch in styles reflected the men's change of fortune. On election eve, all the auguries and omens indicated that Pompidou was assured of becoming the next President of France. Final polls gave him a comfortable SSW of the expected

Looking Ahead. Poher had no illusions about his chances. Nearly a week before the balloting. he promised to send Pompidou a congratulatory telegram on election night once the outcome was clear, "just the way a defeated presidential candidate does in the U.S." Nonetheless, he felt it his duty to campaign as hard as he could, and campaign he did. During a hastily organized blitz of twelve cities and towns, he pushed the cause of a revived center-left government and an end to Gaullism.

Poher hit hard at the large state-security apparatus built up by De Gaulle, but still refused to deal directly with many other issues. In riposte, Pompidou's supporters noted dryly that as a Sen-

supporters noted triyly that as a Senator, Poher had not opposed creation of the state-security tribunal that he was now criticizing. But Pompidou himself declined to comment on most of Poher's criticism. Like the majority of Frenchmen, Pompidou seemed less interested in the campaign windup than in looking ahead to a France under his leadership.

Reconciliation. Well aware that he would need the trust of his citizens above all, Pompidou has constantly employed and the proposed to the proposed and the proposed and partons, between workers and partons, between the presidency and the legislature, between the old France and the new Politically, Pompidou's unity would doubtless begin at home —in his Cabinet. Some of his most im—in his Cabinet. Some of his most im—

portant support has come from outside the Gaullin party, notably from Independent Valery Giscard d'Estaing and Centrist Jacques Duhamel. The endorsements will no doubt the handsomely refinance Minister under De Gaulle, was considered a likely candidate to become Foreign Minister under Pompidou—partly because his most important conditions for support involved working too the control of the property of the control of the con

GEORGES POMPIDOU (BENEATH CROSS OF LORRAINE)
To govern as well as to rule.

of the Gaullist party, but one capable of effecting national reconcilitation and producing a "more far-reaching dialogue with the Assembly." The man best equipped to perform both chores seemed to be the handsome speaker of the Assembly, Jacques Chaban-Delmas, one of the major heres of the Worth of the Major heres of the Worth Charlest Pourth Republic governments before joining the Gaullists.

Curiously, the Cabinet may be even less important under Pompidou than it was under De Gaulle. For although the imperious general ruled France, in many areas he failed to govern it. Many of the details of his policies and much of the routine administration did not interest him, and he left such matters to his ministers. That is not likely to be true of Pompidou, who is a superb administrator and has already told his inner circle that he intends to govern as well as rule.

Filling Choirs. He will have plenty to do. The most pressing immediate problem on the country's agenda is the economy. To curth fast-rising inflation, Pompidou has mentioned the possibility of floating a new state bond issue, which would convert back into savings some of the money that has forced domestic consumption to record heights. As for his longer-range hope of bolstering the

economy, he will undoubtedly try to restore a favorable trade balance—which last month ran a deficit of \$312 million—by resisting excessive wage demands and encouraging exports through tax incentives or subsidies. He is adamantly opposed to devaluing the franc unilaterally, but has endorsed financial cooperation with France's partners, this gogotations later this year for a cheaper franc and a dearer West German mark.

In other dealings abroad, Pompidou has shown no strong urge to renounce Gaullist policy wholesale, but he will undoubtedly make changes in the long run. He spoke recently of the "difficulties" of admitting Britain to the Common Market, but would quietly reseat France at council meetings of the West European Union, the only organization that groups Britain with the six Common Market nations. He is also likely to fill France's empty chair at the Geneva disarmament talks, which could result in eventual signing of the nuclear test-ban and nonproliferation treaties.

To Charles de Gaulle, still keeping his holiday exile in Ireland, far from the men jostling for his place, such minor adjustments to his grand designs must not have seemed too unexpected or unpalatable. But in one throwaway line at the end of the campaign, Georges Pompidou surely caused the old general to bristle with anger and dismay. It was an observation that exposed as perhaps nothing else could the gap between De Gaulle's view of France and the world and that of Pompidou-and between the France of De Gaulle and that of post-De Gaulle. In examining for a French audience the destiny of their country, Pompidou reflected for a moment and then suggested that the France of the future could well turn out to be "something like Sweden with a little more sunshine



SOVIET BORDER GUARDS PATROLLING USSURI RIVER

# WHERE RUSSIA AND CHINA COLLIDE

ALONG the 4,500-mile border shared by Russia and China, there is no clearer natural dividing line than the purple-hued Tien Shan mountain range. Rising majestically to heights of almost 25,000 feet, the permanently snowcapped peaks separate Soviet Kazakhstan from the Chinese region of Sinkiang. One main pass through the Tien Shan range is called the Dzungarian Gates, named after the Dsongars who formed the left flank of the Mongolian army of old. Historically the Gates have been the passageway for Mid-Asian traffic between Russia and China. Last week the two Communist giants reported that their troops had engaged in an armed clash at the Dzungarian Gates-the latest, and potentially most dangerous, of a series of border battles between Soviet and Chinese soldiers this year.

According to China, which first reported the skirmish, Soviet troops intruded into Sinkiang for no ostensible reason. They killed one shepherd, kidnaped another, and brought large numbers of tanks and armored cars onto Chinese soil in an effort to "provoke still larger armed conflicts," said Peking. After the Russians refused to "talk reason," Chinese troops fought back in self-defense, but the situation was still "developing," the Chinese protest to Moscow added ominously

The Russian Foreign Ministry immediately issued a countercharge, claiming that a Chinese shepherd had sauntered 400 yards into Soviet territory in order to distract border guards while Chinese troops slipped into Russia. When ordered to leave, said the Russians, the Chinese replied with a burst of submachine-gun fire. Moscow mentioned no casualties on either side.

Propaganda Beamed, Both Russia and China could have figured to gain something from staging the clash. The Russians were quick to accuse the Chinese of "trying to poison the good atmosphere" of the Communist summit in Moscow. Peking might hope to show

up Moscow as the aggressor before the world's other Communists. Clearly disturbed by the incident, Russia hastily summoned several of its ambassadors to Asian countries back to Moscow for consultations.

The most ominous aspect of the event was the implication from both sides that such clashes had occurred before in this sensitive area. The Sinkiang border region is probably a more volatile confrontation point than even the fareastern Ussuri River area, where Chinese and Soviet troops engaged in a series of bloody border fights last March. The Dzungarian Gates lie just 250 miles from China's nuclear-testing and research sites on the Taklamakan Desert. Moreover, the Sinkiang Uighur Auton-





ples, many of whom resent Chinese rule. Russian radio propaganda beamed there frequently urges Chinese Kazakhs to rise up in arms against the Peking authorities.

The flare-up will doubtless give a new sense of urgency to Russia's campaign of military preparedness along the Sino-Soviet border. The campaign began some time ago, but has become much more evident since the Ussuri

Trip by Intourist, Much of the frontier area is remote and desolate territory, seldom seen by outsiders except the most hardy tourists. There may be fewer of those in the future; last week Russia acknowledged that most of the Trans-Siberian Railway had been off limits to foreigners since June 1. The ban was presumably imposed to prevent non-Russians from viewing Soviet troop movements and military hardware along the border. On the following pages are rare, recent color photographs taken in the troubled border areas. They are the work of an enterprising Italian freelance photographer who, just prior to the ban, completed a trip through Siberia arranged by Intourist, the official Soviet tourist agency

Soviet military officials make no secret of the readiness campaign. First Deputy Defense Minister Sergei L. Sokolov recently wrote that "a straining of the U.S.S.R.'s entire military preparedness" was necessary to deal with recent Maoist provocations.

The Russians have generally kept some 20 army divisions stationed in the Trans-Baikal and Far Eastern military regions. These have recently been beefed up to full strength, and some reports suggest that new divisions have been added-bringing total estimated armed strength up to as many as 1,500,000 men. Most of these are concentrated along the Trans-Siberian Railway east of Irkutsk. In Mongolia, theoretically an independent republic, Soviet authorities have stationed up to 200,000 new troops under a defense treaty signed in 1966. Fighter planes, which can land almost anywhere on the flat Mongolian plateau, are scattered about the vast grasslands, housed in earthen shelters. Russia's main listening post on China is also in Mongolia, and Peking has begun to speak derisively





# Buildup on the Sino-Soviet Border

In the wake of last March's bloody clashes between Soviet and Chinese border guards on the Usuari River, Busia is racing to fortify its Asian frontiers with large numbers of troops and new military hardware. The budidup has sent long trainloads of equipment stacking across the vast expanses of middle Russia on the Trans-Siberian Railway. Above, flatons carry army transport trucks path the old wooden handson and modern buildings of Intuitive. The men on frontier duty are in a high state of readiness; the group shown a regien tall combat gene is double-thinking up and down a seven-mile mountain slope that the state of the control of of the







Ten miles from China, an Ussuri frontier village basks in outward calm. The many new houses evidence Russia's determination to populate the desolate border areas.

Two Soviet soldiers, one casually carrying a fishing rod, patrol the bank of the Amur River, which separates Russia from Chinese Manchuria.



A covey of Russian planes of the type that can be used for reconnaissance sits in Kazakhstan under the shadow of China's looming Tien Shan mountains.





Nestled in a grove of trees near the large industrial city of Khabarovsk, a Soviet radar keeps watch on the Chinese border some 40 miles away.



Since the buildup, Russia's border cities and towns have blossomed with Red Army regulars. At left, carrying their rifles wrapped in protective cloth, troops wait for a bus in Khabarovsk.



Astride his mule, cow at his side, a Kazakh peasant surveys the rich farm land near Alma-Ata. Houses dot the terraced hillside; beyond lie the mountains—and China. of Mongolia as a Russian "colony." The Soviet Union enjoys military su-

periority everywhere along the border. The Chinese airfields nearest to the Ussuri fighting point, for example, are at least 250 miles away; within that radius, Russia has 50 airfields. Russian pilots on reconnaissance missions constantly overfly the outward few miles of Chinese territory. Some of the Soviet units stationed along the border are equipped with rockets, and nearly all have the latest and best Russian guns and military vehicles. Even in the contest to populate border areas Russia is far ahead of China, with up to 100 persons per square mile in places, compared to China's average of 2.6 persons. Despite all those advantages, Moscow is obviously taking no chances.

#### COMMUNISTS

#### Independent Mood

Unless the delegates slept through the speeches, the world summit meeting of Communist parties was a daily grind. Whisked from their hotels and guest villas in black Chaikas and Volgas whose windshields bore special green-and-white passes, the Communist leaders-some 300 from 75 parties—were deposited at the Kremlin before 10 a.m. each morning. After four hours of eloquence, the delegates had a two-hour break. Most of them dined on caviar and cold cuts in the first-floor dining room of the Great Kremlin Palace. In a pointed show of conviviality, Soviet Party Boss Leonid Brezhnev, Premier Aleksei Kosygin and other Russian leaders pulled up chairs to various tables and joined the foreign delegates. Then it was back to business in ornate St. George's Hall for the afternoon's hortatory oratory.

The visitors to Moscow devoted most of their evenings to politicking, gathering in the Rossia and other hotels for discussions or huddling in caucus to modify their original position papers. At their hosts' invitation, the delegates assembled one night in the Kremlin's modern Palace of Congresses for a performance of Ukrainian folk music and dancing. Some delegates on other nights went to the Bolshoi ballet. For those with less sophisticated tastes, there were those lovable perennials, the famous trained bears riding their bicycles at the Moscow Circus.

Italian Independence. As the proceedings entered the second week, the Soviet hosts seemed more willing to let everyone have his say. Hoping to avoid any further fissures in the already fragmented Communist world, the Soviets also backed off somewhat from their earlier determination to wrest from the delegates an endorsement of the Russian stand against China and approval of the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia. Compared with previous Communist conferences, Moscow '69 was relatively open and candid. Pravda ran excerpts from the speeches, including



KOSYGIN LUNCHING WITH INDIAN DELEGATES IN THE KREMLIN Hoping to avoid further fissures in an already fragmented world.

those unfavorable to the Soviet view-GIBRALTAR

#### Shutting the Gate

One of the fondest dreams of General Francisco Franco is to reclaim Gibraltar for Spain, and in pursuit of that aim he has gone to considerable lengths in recent years. In order to convince Britain that it ought to abandon its claim to the Rock, Spain has choked off vehicular border traffic, forbidden overflights of Spanish territory by British military aircraft, and even secured a United Nations General Assembly judgment condemning Gibraltar's "colonial situation." Last week, in reaction to the proclamation of a new constitution for the self-governing colony, Spain struck the harshest blow vet: it closed the border completely, barring 4,838 Spanish workers from access to their jobs in Gibraltar and in the process depriving the Rock of onethird of its labor force

Think Twice, London was angered. Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart pledged in the Commons that "Her Maiesty's Government, with the full support of this House and the country, will do whatever is necessary to main tain the freedom and the way of life of the people of Gibraltar." There would be no official retaliation, he explained, but he suggested that Britons might "think twice and many times before in future making plans to go to Spain for their holiday." Gibraltar, hurt but by no means crippled, stood defiant, "The Gibraltarians are making do," TIME Correspondent John Blashill reported from the Rock. "They are pitching in, answering the call, much as their British cousins did during the Blitz. The Navy dockyards are functioning. Essential services are working. Shop owners have put their wives and teen-age children behind the counters. The men of two British battalions are filling in where needed: hauling cement, unloading ships, bak-

point. There were daily briefings for correspondents. A Soviet-run press center distributed texts of the speeches, though some of the critical addresses were de-

laved for many hours for "technical reasons" and then were available only in very small numbers.

Stating his case in a low-toned manner, Italy's Deputy Party Chief Enrico Berlinguer expounded the independent views of the largest Communist party outside the Soviet bloc. Departing from the Soviet line on every major point, Berlinguer stressed Italian opposition to any move toward an "excommunication" of the Chinese, reiterated his party's grave disapproval of the Czechoslovak occupation, and called for the independence of every party. Shrugging off Soviet claims of pre-eminence in the Communist movement, Berlinguer declared: "We reject the thesis that a single model of socialist society suitable for all situations can exist." An independent mood was also reflected in the speeches of party leaders from Australia, Austria, Britain, Rumania, Sweden and the illegal Spanish party.

Soviet Defenders, However, most of the delegates vied with one another in justifying Soviet policies. The most ironic support for Moscow came from Czechoslovakia's Party Boss Gustav Husák, who succeeded the deposed reformer Alexander Dubček. He said that Soviet military intervention served Czechoslovakia's best interests and dismissed foreign Communist critics of the action as having only superficial knowledge of the situation. East Germany's Walter Ulbricht, Hungary's János Kádár and Bulgaria's Todor Zhivkov vigorously defended the Soviet positions. Most likely, the Soviets could be confident that when the conference ends. probably this week, the tally of Moscow '69 will be, in numbers at least, largely in their favor.

ing bread, even serving at times as busboys and waiters in the tourist hotels."

In the age of decolonialization, cirbraltar and its 25,000 people—descendants of immigrants who came from as the same from the companies of the companies of the ties and India—hold an anachronistic loyalty to Britain. Two years ago, they voted 12,138 to 44 in favor of staying British, and posters still enjohr. Karp braltar has virtual free-port status, and its tidy bazuar economy caters to an average 2,200 tourists a day. Britain has committed a million pounds sterling to be supported to the companies of the companies of the busines for married servicement.

Bazoar Economy, For the moment, the displaced Spaniards are harder hit than Gibraltar. The Madrid government eventually hospets to absorb them in an industrial complex abuilding outside La Linea de La Concepción, the Spanish border town. Because of manpower economies and increasing mechanization, Gibraltar and increasing mechanization, Gibraltar Geschied Minister Spaniards with the control of the control of

have done us a favor."

By everyone's admission, Gibraltar retains little value as a military base except to monitor naval traffic through the straits including the passage of Soviet submarines. The troops and the two fighter planes stationed on the Rock are there merely to show the flag. Politically, more is involved, however. "It is an emotional trigger spot," explains Admiral Sir Varyl Begg, the Governor. Even if Britain eventually decides to pull out-and that seems a most remote possibility-the Gibraltarians' dislike for Spain would probably propel the colony toward independence. Says Sir Joshua: "We have the right not to be subjugated by somebody else.

#### WEST GERMANY

The Orphan Army

To hear the West German generals tell it, their soldiers are so inept and so lacking in morale that they would scarcely be a match for the Beefeaters in the Tower of London or the halberd-bearing papal guard. Speaking to a closed session of officers at the Lead-reship Academy near Hamburg, Major General Helmuth Grashly complainty, Major General Helmuth Grashly complainty. Federal Defense Company of the Major Speaking to a close to the Speaking to a close to the Speaking to

Above all, Grashey lashed out at the principle of Innere Filhrung, or "inner direction." This Riesmanesque notion holds that an army most be more than holds that an army most be more than blindly obeying orders. The soldier is supposed to follow commands because he understands the reasons for them, arther than jawobi-ling out of automatic rather than jawobi-ling out of automatic arther than jawobi-ling out of automatic in Innere Filhrung, some are unhappy about it. Brigadier General Heinz Karti-charges that inner direction has produced to the contraction of the contraction of

Motor Damoge, Whether Innere Filirung is at fault, or something else, the Bundeswehr is in bad shape. The No. 1 problem is manpower—the army is 3,500 officers and 32,000 noncoms short. Since German bureaucratic traditions dictate that all desk jobs be filled first, it is the field and training units that are the most undermanned.

Filling the ranks has become increasingly difficult. Spurred by West Germany's noisy left, the number of applications for exemption by conscientious objectors has risen from 6,000 in 1967 to 11,800 last year—and 81% of the exemptions were granted. West Berlin, where residents are draft-exempt, is increasingly used as an asylum for young men who want to avoid military service. They stay there as students or workers until they pass draft age. In recent weeks, three Bundeswehr officers—two of whom held sensitive positions—have defected to East Germany. There is an increase of minor sabotage, consisting largely of motor damage and destruction of weapon parts.

With the German economy still surging, officers and men feel underpaid. A full colonel earns about as much as a ski instructor; a master sergeant's pay about equals that of a cab driver. Moreover, a uniform provides no compensating psychic income to its wearer today. Determined not to repeat the mistakes of previous regimes that allowed the German army to become a state within the state, Bonn may have downgraded the postwar armed forces too far-the defense share of the federal budget has dropped from 28% in 1965 to 22.6% this year. Few soldiers wear their uniforms on furlough. Many German girls boast that they would never date a soldier in uniform. The uniform itself —gray and baggy—faithfully reflects the army's lack of prestige.

Even more frustrating for general officers is the fact that they do not even have official control of the troops under their command. West Germany has no operational general staff, and all its strategic plans and commands come from NATO headquarters in Belgium. Unlike other NATO powers, which allot part of their armed forces to NATO but keep command of the remainder, every single West German combat unit is under NATO command. Although a number of West German officers are mixed in with other allied officers in the NATO command structure, in practical terms the Bundeswehr is an extension of the U.S. Seventh Army, U.S. Lieut, General Donald Bennett, commanding VII Corps in Stuttgart, notes that Germany "is the only major country in the world that has agreed to put its self-defense

into someone elec's hands."

Unhasty Improvements. The Bundeswehr does have some friends of the
kind hat obviates the need for many enemies: the far-right National Democratic
Party of Adolf von Thadden. In his convention speech at Stuttgart last month,
von Thadden speen til out of 90 vin
Unter slaking sympathetically about the
Bundeswehr and deploring its problems.
Bundeswehr and deploring its problems,
as National Democratic

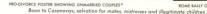
Defense Minister Gerhard Schröder surfaces every few weeks or so promise improvements in the armed forces, but he inevitably adds that reforms must not take place too hastily. An extreme view has been put forward by Major Rudolf Woller, president of the Association of Bundeswerk Reservists. In a recent speech, he said: "If in the subconscious of the nation the impression takes hold



GENERAL GRASHEY REVIEWING TROOPS
Ironic direction from inner direction.

#### TUTTO (10° E' FALSO : LA CRONACA DEI GIORNALI CY DIMOSTRA CHE PER GLI ITALIANI RICCHI IL DIVORZIO ESISTE GIA I BASTA RIVOLGERSI ALLA SACRA ROTA O TRASFERIRSI IM MESSICO







ROME RALLY ON BEHALF OF DIVORCE BILL nate children.

that it is not really protected by the German contribution to the defense system, the leadership of the state could

be forced to a change of course toward neutralism."

If this were to happen, it would represent one of the supreme ironies of history, But then, nations do tend to get the kinds of armies they want. There is no doubt that for many West Germans, the Bundsewsher is an unwelcome reminder of the guilt-laden past, bothersome in an age of affluence, redun-

## dant in an era of seeming détente.

#### Making Divorce Possible

Only eight major nations in the world, all Catholic, do not allow divorce. They are Italy, Spain, Ireland, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Colombia and Paraguay, Of Argentina, Colombia and Paraguay, of probabition is the home of the church itself. Italy's Chamber of Deputies last week began full debate on a bill that would allow evil divorce for one of several reasons. Parliamentary observers berefore the end of the year.

Divorces have been difficult to obtain in Italy since ancient times. According to legend, Romulus authorized them for Roman men for only three wifely misdeeds: adultery, child poisoning, or changing the lock on the bedroom door. The Emperor Justinian was seemingly easier. He allowed divorce by mutual consent, but there was a catch-22. The divorces were expected to take a lifelong vow of chastity. Caesar dallied with Cleopatra on the Nile but could never marry her, presuming he had wanted to, because there was Calpurnia back at home, and she was above suspicion and therefore undivorceable

In the past century, ten divorce bills

have been introduced in Parliament, but none ever got out of committee. Under the 1929 Concordat between Mussolini and the Vatican, the law was even tightened. Up to that time, foreign divorces had been recognized, giving wealthier Italians an exacep hatch. The Concordat abolished this exception, and slammed shut the hatch.

Extramarital Relationships, Blocked at home and abroad for 40 years, Italians have had no release from unhappy marriages except separation or complicated, costly and time-consuming annulment by the Vatican. Even so, an estimated 2,500,000 people are presently separated from their spouses; of these, one-third have made more or less permanent extralegal arrangements, Writer Gabriella Parca, author of a much-discussed book on the predicament (I Separati), estimates that "no fewer than 5,000,000 people [one-tenth of Italy's population] are involved in the drama of indissolubility and suffer its consequences." The total includes those separated, mistresses and

The most famous unmarrieds in recent years, of course, were Carlo Ponti and Sophia Loren; Ponti eventually became a French etizzen in order to marry came a French etizzen in order to marry to tonioni and Actress Monica Vitti lived in separate partnernts with a connecting interior staircase, until Antonioni won an anuilment and the two were married. In less sophisticated circles, extramartial reliabiliships are also common tramartial reliabiliships are also common for your friends are living together, or Says a Milan doctor, "mot for gosteo;" or Says a Milan doctor, "mot for gosteo;"

\* The inscription reads: "All this is wrong. According to the daily papers, divorce already exists for rich Italians. It is enough for them to apply to the Vatican tribunal or establish residence in Mexico." Among those pictured are Sophia Loren, Carlo Ponti, Ugo Tognazzi and Vittorio De Sica. to spread scandal, but to know how to address invitations to your parties."

For others, the lack of divorce laws works a greater hardship. One girl married at 20 only to discover that her musician-groom was impotent. She has spent the past six years petitioning the Vatican's marriage court for an annulment. Until the Sacred Rota finally decides her case, she must avoid any relationship that would destroy the only evidence on which her plea rests: her virginity. A woman married her brother-inlaw after her husband was declared dead in World War II and bore her second spouse two children. When the first husband reappeared unexpectedly, he became not only her legal husband again -the second marriage was invalidated -but also, under Italian law, the father of the children. The family de-

—the second marriage was invalidated—but also, under Italian law, the father of the children. The family decided to live together in a cozy menage à trois in which the woman was married to the first man, a legless veteran, but cohabited with the second.

The present divorce bill introduced

by Deputy Loris Fortuna, 45, a happily married Socialist, would "moralize the existing situation." Fortuna's grounds for divorce are impotence, incurable mental illness, a lengthy prison term, extraction, and the second prison term, extraction, and the second prison term, extraction, or a constitution, attempted murder by one's spouse, desertion or a five-year separation. Opponents deried the measure as a "patente di Casanova," or a Casanova's lovemaking license. Fortuna curs and his bill would sanctify commonlaw situations.

United Front, Aware that the trend of public sentiment is toward the bill, the Vatican in its eleventh battle against a divorce law is making less of a direct attack. In a shrewd maneuver, the church and pro-Vatican Christian Democrats have mounted a campaign largely aimed at wives. "Pay attention," says a street

poster. "If the divorce law passes, your hushand, when he happens to lose his head over a girl younger than you, can leave the house, eak for a separation and after five years move on to a new marriage whether you like it or not." One group unimpressed by such arguments: Italy's 500,000 "white widows," women whose busbands went to other countries to work, got divorced or the countries to work, got divorced or the property of t

and remarried abroad, leaving them helpless under the law to start new married lives of their own.

In Parliament, Socialists, Communists, Proletarian Socialists, Republicans and Liberals are for the first time united behind the divorce bill. Test votes show them narrowly victorious over Christian Democrats and smaller rightung opponents. Though 101 Christian Democrats have signed up to speak against the bill. Chamber President Alessandro Pertini has announced that "we will divorce ourselves from our summer vacation" unless progress is prompt. Since no one wants to remain in Rome in August, the Deputies are expected to approve the bill late next month. The Senate will then be able to act on it after the August break.

#### How to Seize a Country

DURING the past 23 years, more than half of the world's governments have been overthrown by course of defaut. Conspirators are increasingly aware that complex societies are vulnerable to attack. Slash a wire, start a rumor, dump 125 into reservoirs: today any determined guerrilla can stop The System. One man with one bullet can change history. A handful can take over a country.

This knowledge has now been systematized in Coup d'Etat, A Practical Handbook, which shows that in practice things are not so easy. Published in the U.S. by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., the book has already been translated into French, Dutch and Italian. It could well become an underground bestseller in nations with a history of toppling re-

gimes, ranging from Peru to Syria, which probably holds the world record in coups—nine attempts since the property of the coups—the coup

Luttwak brings some impressive credentials, if not empirical expertise, to his task. He is bright, cynical, multilingual and only 26, a vintage revolutionary age. Asked his nationality, he answers, "When?" Son of an orange importer, he was born in 1942 in a Hungarian enclave in what was then Rumanian-ruled Transylvania. He was raised in Italy, polished at the London School of Economics, worked for CBS News in Eastern Europe, later joined what he describes as a "consulting agency," whose chief clients were oil companies. He traveled in the Middle East, evaluating the stability of governments in the area.

Unlike a revolutionary assault

from the outside, Lutwak notes, a coup is an inside job, done by a government's own members. It involves minimal manpower and bloodshed. As in judo, the secret is to use leverage and make a state over-throw itself. Bureaucracy facilitates this by severing the loyalities that once personally bound rulers and their servants. A modern bureaucraf follows impersonal orders; if his immediate boos is subverted, the bureaucrat tends

to obey orders blindly, even orders designed to topple his own government.

According to Luttwak, a coup requires three preconditions: 1) a highly centralized government with a seizable seat of power. 2) a passive people not likely to react to a takeover and 3) the assurance that no foreign power will intervene. These perceptuities usually ratio ut federal nations, healthy democracies and protected client states. Europe, he observes, has had only three successful coups—in Czechoslovakia, Greece and Turkey—during-in Czechoslovakia, Greece and Turkey—during-frie and Latin America offer what Luttwak calls "grativing" opportunities. So does South Viet Nam; provided that the U.S. winks at the plotters (as it did when Presiden Ngo Din Diem fell in 1963).

Luttwak's how-to manual (complete with 13 tactical diagrams) charts every step of a coup, from plot to power. The average coup—once physically launched—takes about

13 hours. The whole art is to analyze all forces that might squelch the coup and, if possible, "neutralize" them beforehand. To block airborne troops, for example, a single bribed technician can silence a key radio station or airport control tower. Capital cities can be isolated and made safe for coups by parking trucks across the airstrips that link them to the outside.

Nearby army and police units can be dangerous. The best way to disarm them is to find out which secondary commanders have been passed over for promotion. Then the most competent can be cozened (with lofty language and basic career promises) into moving against government forces.

After a coup succeeds, the plotters must demobilize their own forces lest the commanders—a treatherous lot by definition—get ideas about a "coup-within-the-coup." The new group should then "freeze" the situation by raising army pay, promoting fellow plotters, barring any flight of refugees, and flooding the radio with calls for sacrifice to cure the alleged sins of the deposed rulers.

In Ghana, 500 soldiers out of a 10,000-man army overthrew Kwame

NKrumah's regime and hardly fired a shot. In South Korea, a mere 5,500 men in an army of 600,000 put General Park Chung Hee in power. Lutti-wark's little classic explains how so few can fool so gle miscalculation of hours or minutes can send the piloters to their execution—he also shows how easy it is to prevent a coup. In his appendices Luttwak offers other advection—be also shows how they are to their power of the properties of their power in the control of their power. It was not the control of the power of the power

word, lopped off the heads of the tallest flowers.



- sequence
- . Civilian penetration
- Diversion designed to attract loyalist troops away.
   Inserdicting fire to prevent their return and the p
- of the main loyalist forces

  4. Assault group from street enters into actio
- Asseult group from street enters into active.
   Expected approach of main lovalist force.

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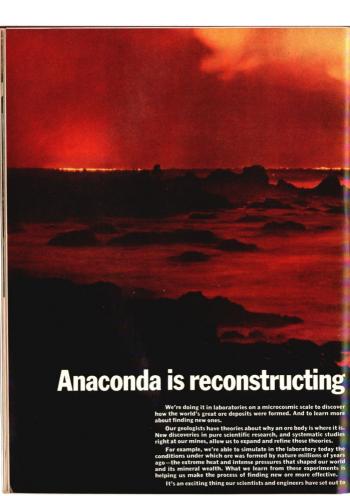
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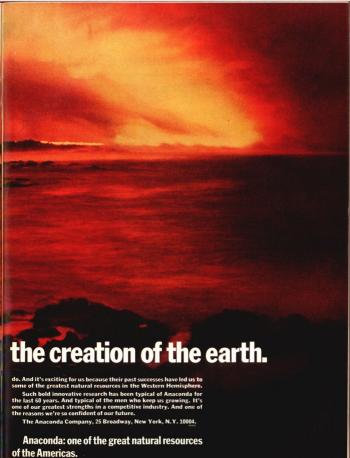
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#### OBSERVATIONS UPON THE IRISH

Irishmen sometimes refer to the Atlantic Ocean as a lake of tears. Because so many of them have crossed it to the U.S., the Irish are seldom far from the thoughts of Americans. This is particularly true right now. For months, something not unlike civil war has been simmering in Ulster. This is the week of Eire's national elections. If that were not enough, June 16 is Bloomsday, it is a good time to reflect on the ways and wees of the Irish, and TIME asked Novelits Wild Sheed to do so, Sheed is only part Irish (on his Irish Sheed to do so, Sheed is only part Irish (on his Irish Sheed to do so, writer of quality (Square's Progress. The Blacking Factory and Pennsylvania Gothich, he has had the opportunity and inclination to observe the Irish, fondly and sharply, for years.

THE only thing that all Irishmen agree about is that you're wrong. In fact, even that statement would probably fetch you a fight in any decent Dublin pub. So before a word is said about the Irish character, let it be stated that very few Irishmen have it. The Irish character, if the truth be told, is a silly joke played on the English, and is only kept around for the sake of the tourists.

Gaelic folk legend is a long chain of deceptions and false appearance—good sturning into dwarfs, dwarfs turning into cats and, above all, beautiful women turning into death-dealing hags. The outcome of these tales was that the gods were usually razzed, the lowly were usually razzed top, and see a was made to look gretesque. Not so different from other people's legends perhaps, except in their very high quotient of mockery; but Ireland's history, or rather the lack of it, has decreed a strange long to the seed of the seed of the lack of it, has decreed a strange long long to the lack of it, has decreed a strange long long to the lack of it, has decreed as through long to the lack of its decree of the lack of it, has decreed as trange long long to the lack of its decree of of its de

Irony is the first resort of the oppressed. Operating utof two languages, Gaelic and English, the lads found they could shoot up a smoke screen of Irish bulls and blarney that one colonial officer could penetrate. Forbidden to write patriotic songs, they wrote love poems to a grid that the control of the properties o

#### Backbiting Capital of the World

Most of the familiar Irish characteristics-which nobody admits to having seen lately-are survivals and distortions from the past. Under the batswing of English protection, Ireland was spared a role in history almost completely. According to the Chinese, this is a blessed state to be in. But the Irish chafed under it. They cursed the English and they cursed themselves-to the point where cursing itself became a distinct Irish art form. "May she marry a ghost and bear him a kitten, and may the High King of Glory permit her to get the mange" is a comparatively mild one. The old Gaelic word for satire (áer) also meant a spell that caused facial disfigurement and even death. To this day, the Irish play their satire for keeps. Dublin is the backbiting capital of the world. ("If you want an entertaining evening, tell your hosts who you had dinner with the night before."

Irish religion is also a stubborn holdover. Post-Ref-

ormation England wasted several hundred years tripe to bring her offshore island into ideological line, in the process hammering Catholicism deeper and deeper into the lirsh system. From the victim's point of view, a cosmopolitan religion was an excellent way of trying to get back into the stream of history. Time and again the Irish signaled other Catholic countries for help. Therench or the Spanish would send a few ships—like Khrushchev sending his missiles half-way to Cuba—and another rising would fail, until a mod of fatalism set in and the old warlike meckery became heavily larded with and the work of the w

#### Charm v. Hustle

The firsh have a well-deserved name for being rebellious, but the fight did go out of a lot of them as their land was stripped away and their leaders were skilled or exiled, and some of their self-disgust may stem stilled or exiled, and some of their self-disgust may stem called The Parliament of Clan Thomas (circa 1650) detides the peasantry for selling out to Oliver Cromwell and becoming, coincidentally, Uncle Toms. And after the Rising of 1916, the rebeb were actually jeered by their fellow citizens. A few of the noncombatnis later came to blather a good fight, but far more of them which is why, for some years after independence, this colortius contributions of the contribution of the contribution of the which is why, for some years after independence, this colortius country is the properties of the

Thus, the conservation exhibited by the American Irish is not such an unaccountable change of spirit as one might suppose. The dispossessed have reason to be calutous, as even Rag Brown must know by now. After roughly 1700, the revolutionary spark in Eire came mainly from Anglo-fish Protestants more recently arrived, such as Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmet and Parnell, and from people rich and secure rough to take chances. The English habit of stuffing their problem island with Britons kept backfing in this way. After a generation or so, the new set-

tlers were Irish themselves, ready for a fresh fight. Immigrants to Ireland began to form second and third branches of the Irish soul. It was and is not uncommon for Souths and Norths in any land to diverge on the issue of charm v. hustle. But in Ireland the normal geographical split was widened by the nature of the settlers. In Ulster, these tended to be tough Presbyterian Scotsmen, with little taste for England but less for the Pope. Their role in an island without history was to keep the 17th century's religious acrimony and long-faced industry alive and to form a kind of museum for the Protestant ethic. The Scots seldom assimilate anywhere without a struggle, and Belfast is a lot closer to Glasgow than it is to Dublin, especially on a Sunday. It may help to fix the type if you realize that Woodrow Wilson and Field Marshal Montgomery were both descendants of Ulster. Picture these men locked in a small country with a bunch of unreconstructed Gaels and marvel that the place is as quiet as it is. In the South, settlers were more likely to be Church

In the South, settlers were more lakely to be cannot spun the raffish-gentleman type. On the Shandan, spun the raffish-gentleman type. On the Gaule space permitted, and the freedom they fought for was space permitted, and the freedom they fought for was their own, not their servants. Yet compromise came easier to them. To this day, they have no trouble feeling superior even in a minority set-up. Such religious passions as they had, in any case, cooled a long time ago. Southern Protestants have shown no manifest sympathy with their hot-under-the-clerical-collar colleagues up North -who according to Pete Hamill, the American-Ulsterman writer, have no trouble feeling like a minority even when they're not

The history the Anglo-Irish missed includes the whole Industrial Revolution. The wit of Wilde and Bernard Shaw jumps us back over the smokestacks to the English Restoration, when Dublin and London were more like country towns and a man had time to work on his wit. Now the English have stopped exporting clever fellows across the Irish Sea. Yet their dandvish wit lingers in the air, and when it flicks against the grotesque imagery of the Gaels, it sets off one of those wild wordfires, fastidiously phrased, that can some-

times blaze up in pubs and books alike, becoming a fire-storm in the works of Jovce. God knows the Irish will even deny that they're witty, to make a point, and declare that English influence was the ruination of them. But the mixture of humors has given them a literature which-if you phrase the question right-they will admit is not altogether bad.

Every visitor wants the Irish to stay the way they are. But the younger Irish have known for some time that this depends on remaining outside history; that the culture which has been mummified so long, and

looks so fresh, may well crumble at the first blast of fresh air. There are parts of it they would not half mind losing, the strengths and weaknesses being so inex-

tricably entwined.

Much of this has to do with the image of sex and death, which presents hilarity on the one side and melancholia on the other. The confusion has been blamed squarely on the Catholic Church, but a country usually gets the religion that suits it. The Irish attitude to sex goes back a long way. Vivian Mercier, in his indispensable book The Irish Comic Tradition, talks of ubiquitous stone carvings depicting a creature called the Sheela-na-gig, halfwhore and half-crone, with enormous sexual parts and withered breasts. This would be the same enchantress of ancient legend who, having seduced her victim, turns suc-

cessively into scalding water, a beast that eats the poor man's head and a dwarf that fastens his hair to the floor and makes him bald. The Irish have been suspicious of mar-

riage ever since.

The impulse was not particularly puritanical, at least in its early stages. There may have been an ascetic tradition in the monasteries, but Irish behavior at wakes, centuries before they had learned to sublimate with Guinness, was so obscene that the chroniclers (unfortunately) blush to describe it. We do know that at some point, a mock priest with a rosary of potatoes round his neck performed a mock wedding. Death and rebirth were usually celebrated together, until sharp poverty came along in the 17th century to make birth a curse, and sex no laughing matter.

With four-fifths of the country owned by Englishmen or their clients after 1662, a small farmer could not afford even to think about sex. Marriage for him was early death. And he clung to a religion that often tended to confirm his caution. The 18th century priests, trained in the flesh-hating Jansenist seminaries of France, gave him the rationale for what he had to do anyway. It was not a specifically Catholic matter. Protestant churches in Scotland and Wales, countries also under the British thumb, were equally repressive

Thereafter a war of the sexes set in of unparalleled in-

tensity, out of which came one of the great war poems of all time: Brian Merriman's "Midnight Court." written in the late 18th century. In it, a beautiful young woman complains that the men won't marry her, but only have eves for the rich old hags. An aging husband lashes back: the young girls are tarts, who will sleep with anyone and beggar a man to boot. Not so, screams the woman. A girl's a poor drudge, looking for a little pleasure between childbirths: the husband is simply too old and loveless to provide it. The court decrees a whipping for all bachelors, and the poet wakes up in a cold sweat. There is a thriving Merriman cult in both this country and Ireland, and small wonder. Official Ireland, the beloved woman of the old patri-

otic songs has been a special hag to her poets, chasing them and censoring them like a worn-out scold. But that war is nearly over. A middle class, as conventional and tolerant as anybody's, is now growing up in the cities, and the Charm is being taken over by the Tourist Board. Bogus castles, renovated pubs and professional colorful characters may be all that survive of it, unless the Irish pass a miracle that has defeated other folk people and keep the flower without also keeping the dunghill it

The young Irish today have other things on their minds. For the first time, England has been pushed out of the light, by modern travel, and the European connection can be made. There is strong sentiment for joining the Common Market. Pessimism may be the last part of the heritage to go. The Irish are leary of hope: look at where it got them in the past! But no one under 50 takes refuge in the Patriot Game any more, that truculent dirge over Ireland's glorious failures.

The church that the angry Ulstermen fear so much is a good deal more adaptable than they admit. As soon as the English eased the fierce penal laws in the 1800s. it made its quiet peace with them, and by the 1916 rebellion was a definite anti-revolutionary force. In the '20s, it excommunicated Eamon de Valera for his part in the bloodshed, only to turn up shortly

thereafter in full partnership with him. The Irish will probably go on cursing the clergy anyway, or defending them against curses, long after the occasion has passed. Anticlericalism is too good and old a sport to abandon entirely, and the most devout indulge in it the most gleefully. The Irish bishops ("the 26 Popes") have drawn their covered wagons up around divorce and the Pill. Book censorship gets feebler all the time, and is now at about the same mean level it was in the U.S. ten years ago. The young clergy are far less tempted by politics than their elders-or by clanking displays of power. "They should put the hierarchy and the politicians on one side" one of them told Paul O'Dwyer re-

cently, "and everyone else on the other." "Who would want to live in this rotten country?" the Irish still ask you. But the lip quivers a trifle (get an Irishman to actually laugh and he concedes a point to you). They are not leaving the way they were; or else they're leaving and coming back, trained and with a stake. To keep the place lively, the government has announced some eyecatching tax breaks for writers and artists. After all, they say to the English, "our ancestors were great scholars while yours were still running around in blue paint." Perhaps the next dream of the ahistorical Irish, besides the usual one of flooding the world with poets, priests and bums, is to become a cultural sanctuary-after other people have returned to wearing blue paint.



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#### PEOPLE

Washington gossips are wont to make unkind jokes about "Plastic Pat, the Wind-Up Doll." But Pat Nixon has paid them no heed. Pat, backed up by Daughters Tricia and Julie, made the rounds of wounded servicemen at Honolulu's Tripler General Hospital. She was completely relaxed with the G.I.s, who were as impressed with her as they were with Julie's interest and enthusiasm and Tricia's flowing golden tresses. The Nixon ladies then returned to Washington. but not for long. Pat leaves on a threeday trip to California and the Pacific Northwest this week, and Tricia is getting ready for a jaunt to Britain to represent her father at the investiture of Prince Charles as Prince of Wales.

One simply does not drop in out of the blue and demand an audience with a famous opera star-especially if the opera star is Maria Callas. The grand diva was in Uchisar, Turkey, for the filming of her first movie, Medea, and Turkish Information Minister Nihat Kursat made a special trip to pay his respects. Kursat walked into the lobby of her hotel, sent a message to Callas announcing his arrival, and quickly received a reply: "I am tired and I don't want to talk to you." Thoroughly humiliated, Kursat flew back to Ankara, where he assured reporters that he had not been snubbed. But he added that he would make no further attempt to see Ma-dame Callas. Said she: "The man does not understand etiquette."

As the elderly gentleman climbed slowly out of his ear, he gazed over the Hamilton College tennis courts, recalling the games he played there as an undergraduate. It was Poet Erra Pound's first visit to his upstate New York alma mater in 30 years—and his first trip to the U.S. since 1958. One of the foremost poets of the '20s and '30s, Pound



Pound at Hamilton
Past put aside.

made propaganda broadcasts for the Italian government during World War II, and was charged with treason when he was returned to the U.S. He was then declared insane and committed to a mental hospital for 12 years, after which the indictment was dismissed and it was ultimately decided that he was san after all. Pound has lived in Europe in past was laid aside during Hamilton's commencement exercises as the poet, now 84, received well-wishers and autographed a copy of his Draits and Fragments of Cuntos CX-CXVII.

The big day is not until June 28, but Ted Sorensen and Gillian Martin hardly expected their Eastern seaboard friends to show up at a wedding in



MARTIN & SORENSEN IN MANHATTAN
Feast for the East

Grand Rapids at the height of the summer season. So they threw a splashy representable has at Manhattan's St. Representable and at Manhattan's St. Rethance to toast the prospective bride and groom. There was Joan Kennedy in a black minishift and the George Dimptons chattening with Arthur Schlesinger Jr. All told, more than 200 guests of the property of the propert

Pop fans were surprised to hear an unfamiliar voice chime in for a few bars in the Beatles' latest hit, Gre Back. Turns out the voice belongs to Billy Feb. 1997. For 1997, and the bar of the property of the met the Beatles years ago when he was playing the organ for the former rock waiter, Little Richard, in Liverpool, In January he dropped in on a Beatle re-



PRESTON IN LONDON Voice with vibrations.

cording session in London just to say helio, and the boys invited him to sit down at the electric piano. Within a month, he had become the first artist ever credited with joining the Beatles on a record. As Preston tells it: "I gave them a lift by just being me. Nothing was planned. It just happened. They liked my music. They recognized the God in me—and my good wibrations."

Despite his towering talents, Lew Alcindor may not be quite sturdy enough to stand up to the slam-bang world of professional basketball-or so some experts have suggested. The 7-ft. 11-in. former U.C.L.A. star has now dispelled any such reservations. During a pickup game in Los Angeles, Lew took umbrage at the way Dennis Grey, 6-ft. 8-in. center for the L.A. Stars, was roughing him up. Alcindor's response was a roundhouse right that broke Grev's jaw in two places. "It was just a case where I was provoked—and I reacted," said Alcindor. "I regret very much that I re-acted the way I did." He may regret it even more. Grev's lawyers have filed suit for \$1,000,000 in damages.

"Ours is a most beautiful friendship, and of course we have kept it a secret. It is best that way." That was Simone, Countess of Suffolk, explaining her relationship with Lord Harlech to London Daily Express Columnist William Hickey, which is the approximate equivalent of discussing a private amour on the Johnny Carson Show. Naturally the paper trumpeted the news: Simone, 40, beautiful former wife of the wealthy Earl of Suffolk, has been seeing Harlech almost daily since they met eight months ago. Harlech, who squired Jackie Kennedy regularly after his wife died in a car crash two years ago, had four words for the countess' rhapsodies: "It is not true." But Simone could not stop talking. "He is the most wonderful man in the whole world. I do hope we're in love."

#### EDUCATION

#### Commencement, 1969: Pomp and Protest

AT Tufts University, a mustachioed tri-ple honors graduate clumped onstage to receive his undergraduate degree, wearing, in addition to his black academic robe, sandals, white pants and a construction helmet with red ribbon attached. Dozens of graduating seniors at Brandeis proudly wore stenciled red fists -a symbol of dissent popular with Boston area student activists-attached to their robes. At Pomona College, something of the spirit of '69 was summed up by the class poet, James E. Rosenberg, who instead of a speech read a passionate poem of societal rebellion. replete with phallic imagery and four-letter bravado.

That kind of nose-thumbing rejection of institutional convention-in the year of the most profound academic disturbances in American history-was more or less predictable. So was the disruption at Harvard's graduation, where Bruce Allen, a Students for a Democratic Society member, was hustled off the stage after describing the commencement as "an obscenity"; 150 students promptly walked out of the assembly. More surprising was the fact that such instances of revolt were relatively rare. Across the nation, the awarding of degrees to graduating seniors was surprisingly placid, sentimental and traditional. Dissent was spoken of by student valedictorians, and by their elders receiving honorary degrees. But there was also a sense of nostalgia and guarded anticipation of the future -shadowed by the presence of the war in Viet Nam. Following is a firsthand report on the commencement spirit at

four U.S. colleges by TIME Contributing Editor Judson Gooding and Reporter Peter Babcox

At one end of the spectrum of grandeur and dissent was the commencement at New York City's Herbert H. Lehman College, a newly constituted, tuition-free urban college in The Bronx, which celebrated its first graduation with a minimum of pomp. Lehman was awarding 1,281 baccalaureates, many of them to children of families only one or two generations in the U.S. Quietly, pridefully, parents and relatives took their places on folding chairs on the broad lawn, while a Berlioz march thundered from loudspeakers. Some women wore mink stoles; others were in frantically color-splashed pants suits. Folded Yiddish newspapers protruded from the pockets of some of the men. While President Leonard Lief conferred the degrees, jet planes from Kennedy Airport soared overhead; the roar of traffic and elevated trains, punctuated occasionally by the shriek of sirens, filtered through the spring-fresh foliage of trees surrounding the campus. There was only passing allusion to dissent in the address by Larry C. Dillard, seniorclass president and a Negro. Dillard cited widespread poverty, "the horror of Viet Nam," the plight of the black man and campus disorders, and urged his fellows to fight for change in order "to form a just society."

As the new graduates marched out, one removed his tasseled mortarboard and put on an Army fatigue hat to symbolize what awaits many of his classmates. Parents bearing graduation presents and corsages flocked around their children, posing for photographs. A few were in tears. Most smiled broadly at the realization of unlikely dreams.

A longer tradition, and more overt recognition of protest, characterized the graduation at Ohio State University, one of the country's largest land-grant colleges, where Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, substituting for Richard Nixon, gave the commencement address. Because of security requirements, the ceremony had to be held in the vast Ohio Stadium, come rain or shine; the weather produced both. Just as the rain stopped, the Vice President's Marine helicopter clattered down to a cordonedoff zone near the stadium, briefly overcoming the triumphal music of the university concert band. The graduates were in their places, all 4,228 of them, seated in neat rows on the field where their unbeaten football team fought its way to the mythical national championship last fall. State police and Secret Service men surveyed half-filled rows of seats unsmilingly. Agnew stressed the progress America has made



RED FISTS AT BRANDEIS Also nostalgia and anticipation.

in the last 50 years. "I see no end to progress so long as there is freedom for every voice to be heard," he said. Distantly heard, as he spoke, were the chants of 100 radical students. Closely watched by police, they were picketing outside the stadium, carrying a Viet Cong flag and shouting, "Hey, hey, U.S.A., how many kids did you kill today?" Ten graduates walked off the field as Agnew spoke; three young spectators were arrested in the stands for "creating a disturbance"-making V gestures with their fingers.

After the awarding of degrees, all the parents were asked to rise. The entire body of graduates rose with them. uninvited, and applauded their mothers and fathers, drowning out the far-off shouts of dissidents. There were no nickets at the reception for new graduates at the Ohio Union afterward. Little girls in bright organdy dresses took extra cookies from plates around the punch bowls, while strong-handed men, some uncomfortable in their stiff suits, chatted pleasantly with the professors who had educated their sons and daughters.

Beneath a green and white candystriped tent at the north end of the enormous grassy playing field that forms the main quadrangle of Weslevan University in Middletown, Conn., 18 students and faculty members in flowered sarongs and silken blouses prepared for a Javanese gamelan concert. They tuned and positioned a wondrous, gleaming assemblage of brass gongs, chimes and metallophones with ivory-colored resonators, all mounted on red lacquer and gilt frames with extravagant carvings of dragons and other beasts. Students, some barefoot, bearded and in ieans, crowded around with fascinated families or strolled the vast green.

On the far side of the campus, about



Wondrous assemblage on the green.

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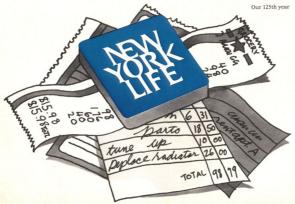
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150 parents, students and faculty gathered in front of the ivy-covered administration building. At the top of the steps stood an open microphone. Anyone was invited to step up and unburden his spirit on the subject of "A Weslevan Education." This was a student-requested innovation. The only student to speak at any length was a dark. angular boy in a plaid lumberjack shirt, He identified himself as a political radical and film maker, quoting a Jean-Luc Godard epigram: "We are the children of Marx and Coca-Cola

The phrase referred to the conflict of self-concern and social conscience, said the boy, whose name was Peter Pfeiffer. "I make movies; I rather enjoy the peaceful joy of framing the world in 16-mm, segments, I drive from place to place in my old Ford station wagon and attempt to capture the movements of people. This is the Coca-Cola of my life. But as I work I can feel large round eves watching my every move. Hungry children have large round eves, and there are lots of hungry children. One person dies every eight seconds from malnutrition, and many of these people are children. And so in a very real sense, these little lives which are never lived are manure for my own life. They die, and I worry about them and film my worries.

The modest crowd did not quite know what to make of this murmured confession. But it was evocative, and impressive. Shortly afterward, the session broke up; parents and students drifted away to attend the formal ceremony of awarding degrees.

Dissent was unmistakably present at the 268th commencement at Yale University. The scene in the historic Old Campus, though, reflected the school's profound respect for academic tradition, with varicolored academic robes and hats, the glittering mace of the university, heraldic flags, brassy fanfares and the gloomy crenellated battlements of old buildings visible beyond the tall elms. Mingling with the smell of freshcut lawns were whiffs of another kind of grass-pot. A few of the 2,420 robed graduates were white armbands on their sleeves to protest the war and the draft, and two students held up a sheet bearing the legend, "We won't go.

At the request of the senior class, Yale officials broke a 75-year-old tradition to allow a student, Class Secretary William M. Thompson Jr., to give a commencement address. Thompson, an honor student in American Studies from Richmond, announced that the class had voted overwhelmingly to dedicate its commencement to opposition to the war. In addition, he said, 143 seniors had pledged to refuse induction if drafted. "The vast majority of Yale seniors want to serve and protect their country," he said, adding that "patriotism is not dead on the college campus today." But patriotism is not "blind obedience"; it is "the constant search



YALE'S THOMPSON AT GRADUATION Patriotism is search.

for good and better policies. When old policies are shown to be wrong, patriotism generates efforts to implement new

"Within the next year," said Thompson, "some of us will die, others will be maimed, in a war which has been declared a mistake. And vet it continues, The war must end now, and the fight for our cities, for our nation, for our people must begin," As their degrees were awarded, some of the new Yale graduates released helium-filled blue balloons that soared into the June sky; Thompson's somber message would not disappear so easily.

#### KUDOS

#### Round 3

UNIVERSITY OF AKRON William Durant, D.LET., and Ariel Durant, D.LET., historians, authors of the ten-volume Story of Civilization.

Their amazing devotion to task and to each other serves as an inspiration to all who aspire to fullness of life and meaningful service. ALFRED UNIVERSITY

Robert Keeshan, L.H.D., TV's "Captain Kangaroo." He has directed his abundant imagination to the education of children throughout the land.

#### AMHERST COLLEGE

Roger Huntington Sessions, D.MUS., composer.

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY René Cassin, LL.D., co-founder of UNESCO and principal author of the

Declaration of Human Rights. A. Philip Randolph, LL.D., organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and civil rights leader.

UNIVERSITY OF BRIDGEPORT Julian Bond, LL.D., Georgia legislator. HAMILTON COLLEGE

Russell Wayne Baker, L.H.D., columnist for the New York Times. However barbed the tip of his lance, it is sheathed by a profound concern for the human condition.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY John Vliet Lindsay, LL.D., mayor of New York City.

Marianne Moore, D.LET., poet, Walter P. Reuther, LL.D., president, United Auto Workers.

David Rockefeller, LL.D., financier.

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE Andrew Heiskell, LL.D., chairman of the board, Time Inc., and co-chairman of the Urban Coalition.

LEHIGH UNIVERSITY

Lee A. Iacocca, D.ENG., executive vice president, Ford Motor Co. With millions of mustangs behind you and millions of mayericks before you, you are providing America with its wheels. UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Tennessee Williams, L.H.D., playwright. MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

Hubert Horatio Humphrey, LL.D. Martin Luther King Sr., D.D.

NORWICH UNIVERSITY Earl Warren, LL.D., retiring Chief Justice, U.S. Supreme Court.

General William Westmoreland, D.M.S., Chief of Staff, U.S. Army. PACE COLLEGE

Paul Weiss, L.H.D., philosopher and teacher

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY Leon H. Sullivan, D.D., pastor of Zion Baptist Church, Philadelphia; founder of the Opportunities Industrialization

Center Charles W. Yost, LL.D., U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

SAINT ANSELM'S COLLEGE Maurice Stans, LL.D., U.S. Secretary of Commerce.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY William F. Buckley Jr., LL.D., editor of the National Review Lee A. DuBridge, SC.D., White House

science adviser. WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY (Mo.) Charles Evers, LL.D., mayor of Fayette,

Miss. J. George Harrar, SC.D., president of

the Rockefeller Foundation, expert on world food problems.

#### YALE UNIVERSITY

Mark Rothko, D.F.A., artist. In your paintings, you have attained a visual and spiritual grandeur whose foundation is the tragic vein in all human existence.

The Reverend Karl Rahner, D.D., German Jesuit theologian. There are very few things in heaven and earth that are not dreamt of somewhere in your philosophy. Llewellyn E. Thompson, LL.D., former

Ambassador to the Soviet Union.

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The communications explosion isn't right around the corner. It's here now. To keep up with it, we've got a lot to learn. Pardon us if we don't play football.





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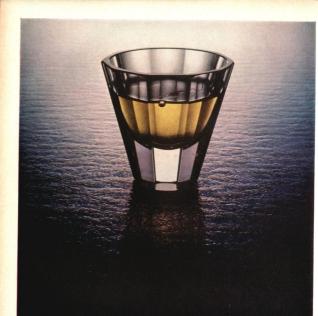
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#### MEDICINE

#### INFECTIOUS DISEASES

To Protect the Unborn

One by one, the diseases that have crippled or slaughtered children through the ages are yielding to preventive vaccines-first smallpox, then diphtheria, whooping cough, polio, and most recently, measles. Last week the U.S. Government approved a vaccine that will benefit no child already born, but is expected to save hundreds of thousands of unborn infants from death or disabling malformations in the womb. It is a vaccine to protect against German measles, folk-named "three-day measles" and technically rubella.\* The first shipments were on their way to doctors within hours of the licensing announcement.

Long Unsuspected. For virtually every human being outside the wombt, rubella is a trivial complaint. It usually causes a mild fever, a flecting cough and a sore threat. Some case are so mild that they pass unnoticed, yet all apparently confer lifeloig immunity. Unlike mumps and severe thiness in the 20% of people who escape it in childhood and catch it as adults. It reserves its killing and brutally demonstrate the conference of the control of the cont

Rubella's cause and effect were long unsuspected. Not until 1941 did an Australian ophthalmologist, Sar Norman until 1941 did an Australian ophthalmologist, Sar Norman that an unusual mumber of his infant patients, born with cataracts, had been conceived during a 1940 rubella epidemic. Doctors then began to recognize many terral rubella, including abnormalities in the heart, limb deformities, deafness and mental retardation. Such damage occurs in about 50% of etiuses whose six months of pregnancy.

Rubella flourishes among youngsters who are crowded together in kindergartens and the lower grades of school. Mothers are apt to catch it from them, like the common cold, through nose and mouth. It builds up to epidemic proportions every five to seven years. The last U.S. epidemic, in 1964, caused 15,000 to 20,000 spontaneous abortions and stillbirths. It left an equal number of children with incurable and for the most part uncorrectable defects, from blindness and total deafness to imbecility. Its ravages in the U.S. alone were more terrible than the worldwide effects of the more highly publicized thalidomide disaster, which left 8,000 children deformed. Epidemiologists feared that the next round, predicted for 1970-71, would be equally savage.

 A totally different disease, caused by an unrelated virus, is the "red" or "seven-day" measles, which doctors call rubeola.

The beginning of the end for rubella came in 1961, when two groups of investigators, one headed by Dr. Thomas Weller at Harvard, the other led by Dr. Paul D. Parkman at the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research, isolated the virus and devised ways of cultivating it in the laboratory. Parkman and a fellow pediatrician, Dr. Harry M. Meyer Jr., subsequently teamed up to attenuate or "tame" the virus so that, in a vaccine, it would cause no disease but would still trigger the making of antibodies and thereby produce immunity. Their strain, which was dubbed HPV-77. is the basis of the vaccine now licensed, dividual vial of vaccine, which must be injected.

The question bedeviling public health authorities in the U.S. and elsewhere is: Who should get the vaccine first? It would seem logical to vaccinate women who are likely to become pregnant and whose blood tests show that they have no immunity. This is essentially what the British plan to do when they license a vaccine. But HEW concluded that it is too hard to sort out susceptible women from the immune. Moreover, if a woman were already pregnant when vaccinated, or conceived within a few weeks, even the weakened vaccine virus in her bloodstream might damage her fetus.

The principle of "herd immunity,"



MEYER & PARKMAN VACCINATING CHILD AGAINST RUBELLA Savagery reserved for the most helpless of all.

They also developed a relatively simple blood test to show whether an individual has already had rubella and does not need the vaccine because he is immune.

Herd Immunity. Merck Sharp & Dohme researchers, after a false start with a virus strain of their own, adopted HPV-77 and further refined it in cultures of cells from duck embryos. Three other U.S. pharmaceutical houses took their own tacks in the competition for a market worth at least \$100 million in the next few years. The first rubella vaccine licensed anywhere in the world was a Belgian product, approved in Switzerland in April and taken over for U.S. marketing by Smith Kline & French Laboratories. Last week, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare licensed only the Merck product, but approvals for one or two more were expected to follow

Merck had 650,000 doses ready for shipment, promises 2,000,000 by August and expects to produce 18 million doses within a year. The cost to doctors is expected to be about \$2.50 for the inwhich has worked well against both polio and common measles, will be applied instead. The U.S. Public Health Service's recommendation to both private and public health doctors is to vacinate all children from age one up to puberry, with the goal of immunizing virtually all of the 50 million in this age when the common the common that the common tha

Only in carefully managed individual cases, says HEW, should a woman in her child-bearing years get the vaccine. Then her doctor should give it only if she has been shown by blood test to be susceptible, and can be proved not to be already pregnant. She must also be willing to use a reliable contraceptive for three months to guard against possibly harmful effects from the vaccine virus. These rules may prove difficult to enforce as women demand the vaccine. But within a few years, rubelladamaged babies should be as rare as new victims of paralytic polio or of measles encephalitis have become since vaccines tamed those diseases.

We don't mean to rubit in.

After all, sometimes it was just a dogged perseverance. And at other times we were plain lucky.

Take our Sylvania bright color television picture tube for instance. For years we and all our competitors had tried to develop a phosphor that would make a brighter color tube. But one by one most of the other color picture

A brighter color tube.



tube manufacturers shelved the idea, because they didn't think it was possible just then.

Then we bumped into the answer.

That is, our picture tube research scientist bumped into our laser research scientist.

"Oops!"

After apologizing, our picture tube scientist asked our laser scientist, "What's new?"

Which was exactly what our laser scientist was waiting to be asked. He started telling our picture tube scientist about an amazing, rare earth he was working with that lased beautifully.

"Say, that's very interesting," said our picture tube scientist. "I wonder how your rare earth would phos in my picture tubes?"

"I don't know," the laser scientist answered. "But why don't you try it?" he offered.

"Thanks, I think I will," our picture tube scientist gratefully replied, and he hurried back to his laboratory and started experimenting with europium, the rare earth our laser scientist had told him about. And  $\dots$ 

Eureka! It phosed fantastically.

It produced a phosphor that gave us the reddest reds that had ever been produced on a color tube.

And we had ourselves a picture tube (the Color-Bright 85" tube) that was brighter than any other picture tube. While our unhappy competitors spent the next few years trying to catch up.

Something else that started our competitors snickering was almost too small to be seen. It's a tiny little chip packed with complicated electronic circuits that could switch a computer from one piece of information to another in four-billionths of a second SUHL. Even the name sounded funny.

A computer likes to do only one thing at a time. So speed is very important. Because the faster a computer can come up with one answer, switch over to another problem, and come up with another answer, the more productive and economical it is to operate.



The tiny high-speed chip that we started manufacturing back in 1963 could switch from one piece of information to another 250 million times in a second. Making the chip was such a complicated process that no one in the business of integrated circuits thought that we had a chance of making it a success then. Now almost everybody who designs computers refers to that little chip as SUHL, which stands for Sylvania Universal High-level Logic.



None of our competitors ever had a chance to scoff or snicker at our flashcube.

It was one of the world's best-kept industrial secrets. We invented the flashcube, and then manufactured and were ready to deliver millions of Blue Dot Flashcubes to drug stores and photography shops before any of our competitors knew anything about it.

And for months afterward they were so busy trying

to make a flashcube of their own, that they didn't even have time to cry.

Then we got a couple of amused looks when we started working on a system that could keep day-to-day track of 1,800,000 railroad freight cars.

After all, hadn't those other companies who were also working on automatic caridentification systems, worked with railroads for years? In fact, they were practically in the railroad business. While all Sylvania knew was electronics and computers. Well, their systems and ours were all tested and evaluated on the same stretch of

track, and under the same conditions. And the Association of American Railroads selected our KarTrak™Automatic Car Identification System as the official

system for America's railroads. Meanwhile back at the lab we have a few more ideas that might give our competitors a chuckle or two.

But remember this: He who laughs last ...



#### CONDUCTORS

#### Partisan Pied Piper The New York Philharmonic would

have liked Leonard Bernstein to stay on forever as its music director. But since he announced 21 years ago that he would quit to devote more time to composing, the orchestra has been pondering a successor, well aware that Lennie would be a tough act to follow. Who could match the famous Bernstein skill, glamour, showmanship and popularity? Last week the orchestra directors courageously and imaginatively picked a man who might just do it. In Pierre Boulez, 44, the French avant-garde composer-conductor, the Philharmonic is betting its future on a musical pied piper who is capable of shaking up symphonic life not just in New York but throughout the U.S. as well.

Boulez, who spent four weeks guestconducting the orchestra this spring, will take over the Philharmonic in the fall of 1971 for three years. It should be a lively reign. An enfant terrible of French music during his younger days, Boulez is capable of fighting desperately for what he believes in-primarily, Boulez's own precise brand of serialism, Webern, and the two most important "traditionalists" in his life, Stravinsky and Debussy. His own music (notably Eclat, Le Marteau sans Maître, fresh, glittering, mobile works filled with a constant sense of surprise that belies their tight structure) reflects his individuality. An acknowledged egotist ("And you can be sure, as I grow older I will become even more so"), Boulez possesses a blazing aphoristic gift for denouncing all those who do not agree with him. On evervone who writes opera today: "Since Wozzeck and Lulu, no opera worth discussing has been composed." On the Paris Opera: "Full of dust and dung." On the French musical community, which he left in 1959 to settle in Germany: "There is more stupidity there than anywhere else." On the verbiage of conductors who talk too much: "Sheer hocus-pocus

New Audience. To the directors of the Philharmonic, Boulez's kind of belligerence is obviously a risk to be seriously weighed. So is his lack of experience in the bread-and-butter area of any symphony orchestra's life: the 19th century repertory. By and large he made his conducting reputation on no more than half a dozen works-notably Stravinsky's Le Sacre du Printemps, to which he brings astonishing rhythmic control and a primitive passion for the work's savage shafts of power. He does not much care for Brahms, Tchaikovsky, or Bruckner, but his conducting of Beethoven, Mozart and Haydn has been superb in its structural logic. During his Philharmonic stay, he attracted a younger, more intellectual audience than usual. Even the hard-to-please orchestra was impressed with his mentality and uncanny ear. "He's probably got the greatest musical ear in the world," says Saul Goodman, who has been playing timpani for the orchestra since the Mengelberg days of the late 1920s.

Boulez regards himself as an international partisan of new music, and he has no intention of abandoning his other conducting jobs. He plans to stay on as principal guest conductor of the Cleveland Orchestra under George Szell, who will be watching over the Philharmonic for the next two years as music adviser and senior guest con-

ductor. And in 1971, Boulez takes over from Colin Davis as chief conductor of the BBC Symphony. Boulez will con-



BOULEZ IN CLEVELAND For an ear and an ego.

duct the New York Philharmonic for eight weeks the first season, and a minimum of 14 weeks thereafter. He will spend four months a year composing at his home in Baden-Baden.

Boulez's free-wheeling approach is bound to change the Philharmonic's life habits. He would like to alleviate the fears of older concertgoers ("They say 'Let's not go; it's not going to sound pretty"); yet he realizes that a major problem of concert life today is finding new listeners. He even has thoughts about changing Lincoln Center, the home of the Philharmonic. Boulez predicts that music will some day broaden out to incorporate the other arts, and that some of that broadening-out may very well take place in U.S. cultural centers. "Lincoln Center still represents no more than an accumulation of geographically adjoining artistic ghettos, with no interconnection between the jealously guarded fiefs," he says. "But once such a center were made to cross-fertilize, a new era of culture might begin to emerge."

#### Messigen's Monument

Lisbon's vast Coliseu concert hall was in tumult. For 20 minutes, the audience of 5,000 at the Gulbenkian Festival simultaneously hailed and hooted as French Composer Olivier Messiaen, thin gray hair disheveled and glasses askew, went through the ritual of kissing the conductor and instrumental soloists on both cheeks. Then, perplexed by the audience's contradictory response, he discreetly withdrew as both applause and a drumming pateada-the footstomping Portuguese sign of displeasure -roared on

The reaction to the world première of Messiaen's 1-hr. 45-min. oratorio, The Transfiguration of Our Lord Jesus Christ, was typical of the contradictory emotions that this avant-garde composer has stirred during his career. Now 60, Messiaen has both enthralled and antagonized audiences for three decades with his innovations in serialization, unorthodox rhythms, and attempts to give musical expression to the sounds of nature, as in the complex Turangalila-Symphonie (1948) and Chronochromie (1960). Those techniques, plus his conviction that "colors and sound are the same thing" and his devout, mystical Catholicism, all were brought into play in Transfiguration. One Lisbon critic hailed it as "a unique monument in the music of our time." Another suggested that it would have been better if it had lasted 20 minutes instead of nearly two hours.

Complex Counterpoint. It took Messiaen nearly four years to compose the oratorio, which requires 109 players, seven instrumental soloists and a 105voice choir. Sung in Latin, the opening narration from Matthew (17: 1-2) sets the scene: "And after six days Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into a high mountain apart, and was transfigured before them. Subsequent movements carry through the theme of divine splendor and light, as Messiaen indulges his feeling for color and bird song. Thus Messiaen's program notes describe one musical phrase as "gold and violet, red and purple, blue-gray studded with gold and deep blue, green and an orange shade. The cello solo sings of the simple brightness of eternal light. The piano solo adds the blue robin of America, the group of soloists give the song of the blackbird of the rocks. Under the direction of Serge Baudo,

the Orchestre de Paris and soloists (flute, clarinet, xylorimba, vibraphone, grand marimba, cello and piano) interwove a complex counterpoint of bird songs with the Dési-Tala rhythms of ancient Indian music. Gongs reverberated, bells rang and castenets clicked, the climactic clamor held together by the strong swell of the chorus.

Messiaen considers the work the culmination of a lifetime of eclectic musical research. Undeterred by the mixed reception in Lisbon, he plans to present Transfiguration in Paris next October.

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#### MODERN LIVING

#### HIPPIES

#### Paradise Rocked

The old Spanish settlement of Taos, tucked away in the Sangre de Cristo mountains of northern New Mexico, is loosely linked to the rest of the world only by narrow, crumbling ribbons of highways. It seemed a God-sent El Dorado for the nation's newest wave of migrants. Over the past two years, driven from the cities by hoodlums and a yearning for the pastoral life, some 1,000 hippies have settled around Taos-buying small plots of land, hand-fashioning adobe casas, and settling down to light farming. Along with their home-grown marijuana and vegetables, however, they have been reaping a harvest of distrust, misunderstanding and rejection-accompanied by sporadic violence. Hippies have been beaten. Their homes and "free stores" have been vandalized. Last month a hippie girl was gang-raped

The postcard-picturesque county seat. Taos (pp. 3.50) has weathered older if less disruptive migrations. Its primitive charm and unassailable isolation. Its primitive hundreds of botheriam writers and artists. One of the first hippies to come was D. H. Lawrence, whose ranch and grave near by have been turned into altitude the company of the country of the country

Public Fistfight. At first, the refugee hippies were accepted with little suspicion. But a spontaneous public fistfight in April was followed by a stabbing and afire-bombing, and state troopers were called in to establish an uneasy truce. Last month Taos canceled an annual two-day town festival for fear of further violence, but ugly incidents have continued nonetheless.

Taoseños complain of the hippies' immorality, drug abuse and public nudity, but the complaints have proved largely illusory. A more realistic reason for the rancor is the fact that as many as 25% of local residents-most of whom are Mexican Americans-are unemployed. and many resent the white middle-class hippies' obvious flouting of the American ideal. "They are making fun of our poverty and our fight for survival," says Francis Quintana, a local school principal. Another explanation is that local entrepreneurs fear the hippies will hurt Taos' largest industry, tourism. "Tourists don't want to come and share the venereal disease and hepatitis with us," said Mrs. Beverly Gonzales, wife of a Taos merchant.

Bomlet. In fact, tourism is thriving, and the hippies have brought no epidemics with them. What they have brought is an economic boomlet, by injecting nearly half a million dollars into the local economy with their land purchases alone.

As the community conspires to ous them, the hippies have been setting up well-organized but acephalous communes, with ordinances that prescribe nonviolence and charity. "We're not possible all "ry-gara old blonde from Putsburgh." We then the possible and the prescribe soon, many hippies have been set of the possible and the prescribe and the prescribe



ARNO (RIGHT) FANNING A SCORE
Best defense is a pace in the face.

TRAVEL

#### Pickpocket Season

"They are beautifully dressed, usually in dark mohair business suits. Fine, light-weight raincoats are a trademark. Their passports always show them as professionals, and they look it. They stay at grade A hotels, always together. They always shop in Oxford Street and visit always shop in Oxford Street and visit in the property of the same they are they are they are they are they remain the cried to the same circuit every year—the Grand Prix of Monaco, Epsom for the Derby, Le Mans, Ascot..."

ASCOL. Sound like a team of Temple Fitting's travel scouts but Detective Inspector John Candish of Scottand Yard is actually describing an elite corps of international pickpockets. "They come from Spain, Italy, the U.S.," notes Candish, "but recently a lot more are from Latin America." As a discernible clique, they began arriving in Britain three years ago during the World Cup soccer matches. They have been completely controlled to the control of the property since.

numbers—ever since. Writer in Munic. Candish has been studying their migratory habits, and now studying their migratory habits, and the street in London in mid- to late spring, stay only long enough to make five or six good hits, and then follow the early tourists to Paris, Germany, Switzerland, They relax briefly in late suinner, leaving the field to the follow the early tourists to Paris, Germany, Switzerland, They relax briefly in late suinner, leaving the first of the street of the s





HIPPIE COOK-OUT AT TAOS Harvest of violence.





▶ "Arab pickpockets specialize in port cities. They use razors to slit back pockets of tourists in bars. They bump up against people brusquely, with no ▶ "Japanese use acid sprays to disintegrate trouser pockets. They're experts at removing tourists' cameras: just lift gently and slash the strap. 1.5 and tourber they are the strap of the strap of the strap of fruit while working on wellets in the

on the techniques of first-rank "wires" (or "cannons" or "pit workers") is Bob

Arno, a 29-year-old Swede whose demonstrations onstage and in nightclubs earn him more than \$100,000 a year. Together, Candibi, and Arno have drawn up a profile of the topflight pickpocket. The really good wires, says Arno, shun any tools other than their own hands likeliest place for money. "The best of them," he claims, "make over \$1,000 a day." They must have "good grift sense"

and a nose for money. They look for a score who can be put off his guard, who won't react too suspiciously or violently if brushed against." Americans ("Easygoing, think that sort of thing doesn't happen in Britain") and Japanese ("Fear of losing face") are the easiest marks. Then it's the timid Scandinavians and the British "Behind that

front of assurance, the English are eas-

international dips generally work in "firms" (teams), but not necessarily

among crowds. A wire and his "stall"

(runner) may, for instance, quarrel over

a taxi with a likely pigeon. The wire

"fans" the target-either by brushing up against him or simply by noting

any bulge or sag in a pocket—to determine the "leather's" whereabouts. While he argues with the victim, he

slips the wallet to the stall, who just

fades away. "If you go for the pickpocket," says Candlish, "you usually

At major sporting events, both pickpurses and Yardmen are well repre-

sented. "The greatest danger for the thieves," says the inspector, "is that they are complete creatures of habit.

The raincoats are a giveaway. They use them to cover a mark's pocket while they work inside." Arno keeps up with

industry trends around the world. Some

Giveaway Raincoats. The best of the

ily conned").

find nothing

random observations:

visitors' hip pockets."

▶ "Korean children extend cheap dolls to travelers on departing trains; as they bargain, the kids break the watch straps on the outstretched arms."

The traveler is well advised to button his wallet pocket, fold his arms in crowds, and beware of the interested bystander as he cashes his traveler's checks. But the best defense may be psychological: Above all, says Arno, the tourist must have "pace in the face. If he looks alert and aggressive, most pickpockets will leave a man well enough alone".

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## transportation

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#### THE JUDICIARY

#### A Code for Judges

Ever since the fall of Abe Fortas, critics of the Supreme Court have been urging Congress to impose a stiffer code of financial ethics on judges. Last week, at the urging of Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Judicial Conference of the U.S., composed of 25 leading federal judges, beat Congress to the punch by adopting a tough code on its own.

Warren's main objective in rushing adoption of the code was to protect the independence of the U.S. judiciary. Two bills now before Congress would require judges to make financial reports available to the House Judiciary Committee or to the Comptroller General. whose office is controlled by Congress. Until recently, the judges were able to resist such a requirement by noting that neither the executive nor the congressional branch of government required such disclosure from its members. But Congress last year enacted its own code of ethics-however weak-and the judges could no longer complain that they were being singled out unfairly.

As drafted by an eleven-man panel headed by Robert A. Ainsworth Jr. of the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, the new code provides only one narrow loophoit. Behavior of the country of

Otherwise, the code decrees: "A judge in regular active service shall not accept compensation of any kind, whether eri the form of loans, gifts, gratuities, honoraria or otherwise, for services to be performed by him except that provided by law for the performance of his judicial duties." Beginning next year, each judge must also like with the comments, other assets, income and liabilities. By September, Judge Ainsworth's panel will draft legislation to "ensure the conference being able to enforce the motions we have passed."

Two Holdouts, Though Ainsworth moted that "our conference has no jurisdiction over the Supreme Court," the conference has no jurisdiction over the Supreme Court, and the conference has been considered that the conference has been conference and the conference has been conference has be

Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo



Beating Congress to the punch.

L. Black, however, have thus far resused to go along. Though Douglas has resigned from his \$12,000-a-year presidency of the Parvin Foundation, his lecture agent reported that he has not stopped booking speaking engagements. Douglas and Black contend that the independence of the Supreme Court of the Sup

That point is the subject of intense debate. If a binding code of any kind is to be imposed on the nation's highest court, it will probably have to be enforced by other judges. But then, who is to judge the judges of the judges?

#### THE SUPREME COURT

#### Individuals Triumphant

In three separate decisions last week, individual liberties were pitted against the powers of the state or private corporations. In each case the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the individuals: b In 1966, when a loan company sought to begin recovery of a debt from Christine Sniadach of Milwaukee by taking \$31,29 from het \$5C weekly pay, she give Felicational Fund for help. Wisconsin's Chustonia Charles and the Charles of the Charles of

tine Sniadach of Milwaukee by taking \$31.59 from her \$65 weekly pay, she ap pealed to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund for help. Wisconsin's garnishment statute, similar to those in 16 other states, allows a creditor to tie up as much as 50% of a salary earner's wages even before a debt has been proved. Often, far more than a weekly bite is involved; the U.S. Department of Labor estimates that employers fire between 100,000 and 300,000 workers each year because of wage garnishments. Mrs. Sniadach's lawyers argued that because she was given no chance to dispute her debt in court before her paycheck was cut, she was deprived of her

property without the processes guaranteed by the 14th Amendment. By a vote of 7 to 1, the Supreme Court agreed, although Justice Hugo Black, in an angry dissent, called the voiding of Wisconsin's law a "plain judicial usurpation of state legislative power."

In 1964, WGCB, a radio station in Red Lion, Pa., broadcast a right-wing preacher's attack on Fred J. Cook, a frequent contributor to the liberal weekly magazine, The Nation, When Cook's request for a chance to reply was refused, he took his case to the Federal Communications Commission. The FCC ordered the station to give Cook a turn at the mike, went on to point out that under its "fairness doctrine." broadcasters must 1) offer free time to people personally attacked on the air on a controversial issue of public importance. and 2) in cases where stations editorially endorse or oppose a candidate, give opponents a chance to be heard, WGCB appealed, contending that the FCC had overstepped its authority. The Radio Television News Directors Association. joined by the National and Columbia Broadcasting companies, also went to court to argue that the regulations violated not only the Federal Communications Act but also First Amendment guarantees of free speech. Broadcasters, they said, would grow chary of controversy if they had to worry about a toughened fairness doctrine. In a unanimous opinion, the high court upheld the FCC in both cases. A license does not mean ownership of the air, said the court, "only the temporary privilege" of using it. Since the air actually belongs to the public, said the court, the FCC's fair play rules increase rather than curtail the scope of free speech.

▶ In 1964, Clarence Brandenburg was shown on television in Ku Klux Klan regalia, haranguing his cronies. "The nigger should be returned to Africa, the Jew returned to Israel," said Brandenburg. "If our President, our Congress, our Supreme Court continues to suppress the white, Caucasian race, it's possible that there might have to be some revengence [sic] taken." Convicted of violating Ohio's criminal-syndicalism law by "advocating violence as a means to accomplish social reform," Brandenburg appealed to the state's highest court, but his plea was rejected on the grounds that "no substantial constitutional question exists." Not so, said the U.S. Supreme Court. Ohio's 1919 criminal-syndicalism law, one of 20 enacted by the states during the Bolshevik scare, failed to distinguish between mere advocacy of lawlessness and "advocacy directed to inciting" imminent crime and likely to produce it. "A statute which fails to draw this distinction intrudes upon the freedoms guaranteed by the First and 14th Amendments," said the court, as it voided the Ohio act. New York's criminal-anarchy law and California's criminal-syndicalism statute are also under challenge. They, too, will be tested on how well they have drawn the crucial line between advocacy and incitement.

#### BEHAVIOR

#### THE SEXES

#### Men in Bonds

It is, clearly, a man's world. Who speaks of foremothers or alderwomen? There may have been a few lady generals, messiahs or tribal chieftains, but history neglects their exploits. Israel's Golda Meir and India's Indira Gandhi are rare exceptions to masculine domination in politics. The human species it-self is called man.

Why have most women failed to find the key to dominance? The traditional male rationale is that females are physically and intellectually inferior, an argument without much basis in fact. In certain physical characteristics-tolerance of cold and pain, digital dexterity, longevity-women are superior to men. In a new book, Men in Groups (Random House; \$6.95), Sociologist Lionel Tiger of Rutgers University proposes another explanation for male cultural domination. The survival of society, he argues, depends more crucially on man's affinity for man than on his reproductive affinity for women.

Relegated to the Hearth. Tiger calls this particular kind of masculine affinity "bonding": the forging of strong emition and the strong the forging of strong emitional ties between men that have nothing to do with women. He contends that these male bonds go back to the origins of human society, owe much to man's animal genesis and are probably genetically determined. They must first have been formed. Tiger speculates, have been formed. Tiger speculates, have been formed. Tiger speculates, occurred anywhere from 2,000,000 to occurred anywhere from 2,000,000 to courted anywhere from 2,000,000 to courted anywhere from 2,000,000 to formilion years ago and that forever after relegated man's female companion to the responsibilities of the hearth.

The values demanded in the hunt, such as endurance and camaraderie, writes Tiger, "widened the gap between

the behavior of males and females. Not only were there organic changes in perception, brain size, posture, hand formation, and locomotion, but there were also social structural changes." Limited by her procreative and maternal responsibilities, woman became shaped evolutionally to play a passive role. Man, organization of game, evolved in a far more self-assertive direction.

serior direction.

serior direction dentities. The aggressiveness of the aboriginal humer proved useful in the development of human civilization. It not only produced bold suppliers of meat but brawny and self-assured males whose belligerance ensured males whose belligerance enforcement of the serior desirable entitled in the serior desirable entitles and imperiously cornered the most desirable females. Man who possessed these traits, says 'ligre, guaranteed their own testing the serior desirable females. Man who possessed these traits, says 'ligre, guaranteed their own the species by eliminating the weaker, less assertive males.

From this hypothesis, Sociologist Tiger leaps nimbly-perhaps too nimbly perhaps too nimbly the state of the state of the the huntry is still no conclusions. The hunter is still no conclusions. The hunter is still no conclusions the huntry and t

Tiger draws certain analogies between male bonds and sexual attraction. To him, initiation into all-male groups like fraternities resembles courtship: neo-phytes are wooed and chosen with the same meticulous care as mates. Investiture into a masculine order—an army unit or the Masons—is like marriage, which explains in part the thread that

binds the warrior to his buddy. At its least edifying, says Tiger, the male bond unites homosexuals—men whose "eagerness to attract other males may as clearly betray a craving for male bonds as a confusion about sexual identity and the desire to be female."

A mild-mannered, happily married man who belongs to no all-male societies himself, Tiger does not provide any tidy answers to some large questions raised by his book. Why have bonds between females, a sociological fact that he acknowledges, been so weak and so much less of a cultural force than male affinity? And in a war-torn world where nonaggressive, peace-loving women outnumber men, why has the female instinct for serenity not determined the political climate? Tiger, who holds that the male instinct for dominance is today as much a menace as a blessing, suggests that it may be time for the hunter to disarm himself by throwing his weight around in places where no one gets hurt. He has one small but eminently practical suggestion for housing developers and city planners: Incorporate "men only" havens into their designs, "Men 'need' some haunts and/or occasions which exclude females," Tiger writes. "There remains no place which is defined as specifically and exclusively male, and which is not only exclusively male but anti-female."

#### **PSYCHOLOGY**

#### Death in a Cancer Ward

There is no grimmer duty in a hospital than working in a cancer ward full of dying patients. As custodians of terminal cases, nurses bear particularly heavy emotional burdens. The girls show a tough and cold exterior-an attitude quickly acquired in hospital service. But often it cloaks deep feelings of anger and frustration at their inability to slow the inevitable or at least relieve their patients' pain. The patients, in turn, become even more despondent. Confronted by apparently diffident nurses, they begin to complain that they are lied to about their condition, treated with contempt and given inadequate attention.

New York Psychiatrist Samuel Klagsbrun, 36, believes that the atmosphere in a death ward can be made at least reasonably tolerable. He tested his thesis in a 21-year demonstration project at Yale New Haven Hospital in Connecticut, where he was consulting psychiatrist in a small cancer-research unit filled with terminal cases. When he arrived, he found the morale of both staff and patients abysmal. The doctors and nurses considered the patients "walking dead"; the patients grumbled constantly about "uncaring" doctors. "unavailable" nurses, and experimental drugs that they thought were being used on them as if they were guinea pigs.

No China Vase. Klagsbrun decided first to minister to the psychological needs of the unit as a whole rather than any individual. He did this by giving particularly careful attention to the



MASONS IN CEREMONIAL RODEO (1895)

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nurses, since their influence on the patients was pervasive. In a series of group discussions, he was able to make the nurses believe that, despite their feelings of futility, they were performing a crucial if difficult duty. Most important of all. Klagsbrun encouraged the nurses to look upon the patients in a more realistic and candid way. Death, he insisted, should not be treated like a delicate china vase; nor, he adds, should patients be considered as all that fragile. even though death hangs over them.

His program to "revolutionize ward culture" had an unmistakable impact. Told to deal more firmly with whimsical requests, which are actually signs of anxiety, the nurses talked bluntly to troublesome patients. "Mrs. Jones," a nurse would say, "you really don't need that bedpan again, do you?" The freeand-easy approach had its understanding and mellow side. Sensing that a patient was particularly troubled, a nurse would ask if she could help, even if her charge had not rung for aid

As it happened, the spirit of open communication in the ward created a new problem: the patients started asking "Am I going to die?" Klagsbrun's recommendation: each patient should be handled in a straightforward manner, but one that he could most easily accept. Often the patient himself provided the clue as to how the question should be answered. When one told Klagsbrun. "Doc. I've never felt better," the psychiatrist knew that the man needed to delude himself about the true nature of his condition and could not cope with the truth. On the other hand, Klagsbrun felt that if the patient talked objectively about his pain, he was craving for honesty and could be told about the inevitability of death.

More Activity. As the spirit in the unit improved, the nurses began to prod the patients into greater activity. Many of them, it turned out, were well enough to do little chores for the nurses, socialize with one another, stroll to other parts of the hospital. In at least one instance, the unit's new joie de vivre exceeded all expectations. Walking into the room of a 39-year-old man, a nurse was amused to find that he had invited his wife to join him in bed

Klagsbrun concedes that his upbeat approach, which has been adopted as a regular part of the hospital's procedures, does not satisfactorily deal with the agonizing time immediately before death. "This period," he says, "is still an unknown entity from the psychological point of view." Even so, he may have made some unexpected progress. With life rapidly slipping from her, an old Italian woman called to a nurse one day. "It is the end, isn't it?" she asked. The nurse nodded, sat next to the old woman and held her hand. "I don't want to die alone," the old woman said. "You won't be alone," the nurse replied. Ten minutes later, the old woman's labored breathing stopped, with the nurse still holding her hand.

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# TELEVISION

# AWARDS

### Emmys of Irony

It seemed to be just another Emmy awards ceremony, more smoothly mounted than in the past, but still the usual routine: M.C.s introducing guest presenters who introduced the winners. But there also were some moments spiked with irony and bitterness.

Barbara Bain accepted her third Emmy for her role as the ladylike spy in the Mission: Impossible series. Then she took an unladylike poke at CBS and the series' production company, noting that "there are a couple of people I'd like not to thank. Since they know who they are, I won't name them." Reason for her ire: she has dropped out of the series in sympathy with her co-star and husband Martin Landau, and his reported demands for a pay hike.

Don Adams won his third Emmy as Outstanding Actor in a Comedy Series for his role as the bumbling spy in NBC's Get Smart. The show itself received an award for the Outstanding Comedy Series. The twist: NBC has dropped Get Smart from next season's lineup. Yet another twist: CBS picked it up, and will continue it in the fall.

▶ Hope Lange was named Outstanding Actress in a Comedy Series for her role in The Ghost and Mrs. Muir, another series dropped by NBC. This one was rescued by ABC for next fall.

► Carl Betz, star of ABC's Judd for the Defense, won an Emmy as the Outstanding Actor in a Dramatic Series. But just as ABC picked up Mrs. Muir, it dropped Judd. No other network has taken on the show.

► The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour, recently dropped by CBS, won for Outstanding Comedy Writing.



BARBARA BAIN Three hits and you're out.

▶ George Lefferts accepted his Emmy for producing Teacher, Teacher, NBC's touching drama about a mentally retarded child. He then turned and roundly scored the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences for slighting 14-yearold Billy Shulman, the retarded youngster who had been nominated as Outstanding Actor in a Supporting Role for his part on the show. The Academy

had dropped the category altogether, instead gave Billy a special plaque. ► The Dick Cavett Show, dropped by ABC from its morning listings because of low ratings (see following story), was

awarded an Emmy for Outstanding Daytime Programming Achievement.

# TALK SHOWS

#### Cavett's Return

Outside the studio on 58th Street in Manhattan hovers a claque of middleaged women, shuffling their sensible shoes and swearing that the guy is the greatest thing since Clairol. Next to them is a gaggle of teen-age groupies eating their hearts out because their hero is married, of all things, But, as one matron said to a groupie, "It's all right, dear -he's ours only for an hour.'

On ABC-TV last winter, Dick Cavett, the subject of that stage-door chatter. was caught in the coffee-cake crunch of morning television. Up against such formidable foes as Dick Van Dyke The Beverly Hillbillies and Andy Griffith -all rerunning for their lives-Cavett found himself and his talk program scrambling for ratings. While insisting that they liked the guy a lot, ABC nonetheless canceled the show. But not for long. Cavett is back on the network in prime time.

Spade Cat. His new program may have the strangest schedule on network television (Monday, Tuesday and Friday, from 10 to 11 p.m. E.D.T.), but the show is better than ever; a limited number of guests (usually four) and commercial breaks.

In the first three weeks, Cavett has deftly handled such disparate talents as Truman Capote, Joe Namath, Candice Bergen, Rex Reed, Gloria Steinem and Mort Sahl. Coming on like an urbane Henry Fonda, he asks a few questions, grins puckishly now and again, then sits back to let guests earn their \$350.

But he is always there when needed. Negro Actor James Earl Jones mentioned that he did not particularly enjoy being called a "spade cat." Cavett allowed as how he could understand that. After all, "The old maid in the apartment above me lives with a spayed cat." Caught on-camera taking a telephone call from the producer, Cavett flashed an exasperated look and adlibbed: "I've told you never to call me at work, Miss Lollobrigida.

It is not all froth and fun, however.



DICK CAVETT & JOE NAMATH Between Charlie Brown and Our Gana.

When Correspondent David Schoenbrun appeared, Cavett deftly turned the talk to De Gaulle and the French elections. He put a bearded and denim-wearing Peter Fonda at ease and then drew system ("It's a mess-but my old lady won: our kids go to school") and the generation gap ("My father and I have gotten much closer in the past few years. At least "we talk to each other on the phone every day").

Cavett, and perhaps even the whole talk-show format, reached something of a high point last week when he set up a confrontation between Columbia University Radical James Simon Kunen, author of The Strawberry Statement (TIME, May 9), and Yale Student Tony Dolan, a conservative who occasionally contributes to the National Review. "I eat my share of apple pie," insisted Radical Kunen when he was attacked by Dolan for being something less than the all-American boy. And so the debate continued. Kunen: "There are no hungry conservatives." Dolan: Today's campus radicals operate with "noise instead of intelligence."

Flu Fans. Cavett, who looks like a cross between Charlie Brown and a member of Our Gang, is a Nebraska boy who started in television as a gag writer, then graduated to performing. Mostly in jest, he credits his late-blooming success to the Hong Kong-flu epidemic that hit the nation just as his morning program was floundering. "It kept people home who otherwise wouldn't watch daytime television.

As Cavett sees himself and his show, "It gets me to read and do a lot of things I otherwise might not." The result of all this homework is an urbane and highly relaxed hour of television talk that promises to go far in making the long hot summer seem less so.





Even a few dabs from Tricia.

# PATRONS

## Not All That Square

When the Nixons moved into the White House, most art critics thought that they would prove to be as square as a cross section of the Washington monument. As it turns out, the Nixons are not all that square. Not being expert themselves, they may not be too sure about what they like. But they are willing to take the advice of knowledgeable authorities

In the presidential bedroom, for example, hangs an Impressionistic Flag Day by Childe Hassam, which is a holdover from the Kennedy Administration. Nixon also has a Red Barn painted by a previous occupant, Dwight Eisenhower. Tricia's room features a picture of azaleas, presented to her as 1968 Queen of the Norfolk Azalea Festival. Pat's taste is seen in the private sitting room and long hall. She has kept the Early American masterworks acquired by Jacqueline Kennedy and earlier tenants. but she particularly likes Impressionists and turn-of-the-century Americans. Manhattan's Metropolitan Museum has lent the White House Mary Cassatt's Portrait of a Young Girl, Ernest Lawson's Harlem River, one Sargent and two Monets.

So far as the public areas are concerned, word was passed to the National Collection of the Fine Arts, which furnishes the West Wing's lobby and pressrooms, that the Nixons would prefer something not quite so abstract as the Tobeys and Youngermans featured there under Lady Bird's tenancy. Those particular paintings have consequently vanished, but their replacements are still works by contemporary Americans. The show that has been on during past

months includes Wolf Kahn's diffused Yellow House (1967), Roy Moyer's semi-abstract Cypresses (1968), John Button's Hopperesque Lake Erie (1968), and an assortment of paintings by artists from other schools and other parts of the country. Hidden in private offices can even be found a few lithographs by such avant-garders as James Rosenquist and Frank Stella.

Across the street from the White House, the Nixons have permitted, though they did not officially sponsor, what may well be the sprightliest exhibition of contemporary art in town. There, a plain gray plywood fence had been built around Lafavette Park while construction work is going on. Depressed by the sight, Jane Shay, a staffer at the nearby National Trust for Historic Preservation, organized a one-day paint-in by a group of Washington high school art students. The result was a half-mile mural in which green trees, pink pigs, pilgrims, bare-breasted Indian maidens and parades mingle with a modicum of social sentiment. "Stop the war-Jesus and Allah could save," reads a message in the middle of some blazing red, white and blue stripes. Nixon did not object; Tricia was even deputized to walk down on the day of the paint-in and add a few dabs herself.

### GRAPHICS

# A Man of Infinite Possibilities

Of the 900 or so drawings by Leonardo da Vinci known to survive in the world, some 600 have resided for centuries in the royal collection of Britain's monarchs. How they came to be there is not certain. Most of them seem to have been brought to England by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel,

known as "the father of English art collectors," who found them in Spain some time after 1637. The royal family acquired them some time before 1690. But apparently neither King William III nor Queen Mary was much impressed by their quality. A hundred years later, an official at Windsor Castle discovered them tucked away "in the bottom of a chest of drawers.

Ever since, they have been the jewels of the Crown's fabulous collection of 20,000 to 30,000 prints and drawings. In fact, they are so dearly prized that, in the words of Robin Mackworth-King, Windsor Castle's librarian, "the Oueen feels her responsibility to posterity is too great to assume the risks of sending them abroad." A few are displayed in the Windsor Castle gallery on a rotating basis (scholars, however, may examine them in the archives any time). This summer, a huge sampling of the treasure has been put on view at the eight-year-old Queen's Gallery in Buckingham Palace.

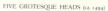
With 163 drawings, it is the biggest Leonardo show ever, and has already drawn 36,000 visitors. Chronologically, the drawings run from studies of lilies done in 1478, when Leonardo was an apprentice in Verocchio's Florentine workshop, to the coarse drawings probably done after 1516, when he had moved to France and, in his 60s, had suffered a paralysis of his working arm. Most important, the exhibition encompasses the extraordinary diversity of Leonardo's interests and achievements. Armaments, navigation, map making, mathematics, anatomy, botany, astronomy-his investigations into all of them are graphically annotated. The continual restlessness of his great mind can be seen in the numerous sheets on which he had sketched, say, a gear-wheel mechanism, only to move swiftly on to a series of male nudes or a study of ocean waves without even changing paper. Then again, he might use an empty corner to jot down a scientific observation or a moral speculation in his strange, backward-running "mirror handwriting

Out of Patience. It is hard to imagine a man with a clearer eye or a more far-ranging mind. Leonardo might stop work on a painting to dissect a cadaver and make meticulous studies of its musculature so that he could better understand the twist of a body or the shape of an arm. He took as his province the total knowledge of mankind (which was then manageable), and painting was only a part of it. Even when he was famed the length and breadth of Italy and crowned heads and prelates were besieging him for paintings. he pronounced himself "out of patience with the brush" and turned for five years to other projects. Thus only a handful of paintings survive-or were ever completed.

Perhaps there is a reason; painting is essentially a more voluptuous mode of expression than drawing. To judge from

# WINDSOR'S ROYAL LEONARDOS











STUDY OF A HORSE (before 1482)

STUDY OF A WOMAN'S HANDS (ca 1478-80)

16th century copies of his now lost Leda and the Swan, he could depict sensuous nudes when he chose, But the drawing that survives of Leda's head shows a lady ethereal and delicate silverpoint studies of hands, believed to have been made for the portrait of Ginerra det Benci. The painting itself, in cut off just below the shoulders (though no one knows in which century the damage was done).

Legacy and Vision, Leonardo seemed to feel something like a passion for his human subjects only when he happened to view them with disgust or satirical malice. He was powerfully attracted by strange faces and would sometimes follow some chance passer-by all day long



LEONARDO AT 30
Total knowledge was the province.

in order to memorize his countenance. His pen caricature of five grotesque heads shows five prototypes of stupidity, cruelty, narrow-mindedness, arrogance and rage.

His warmest and most sympathetic studies are often not those of human beings at all but animals, plants and natural forces. He was fascinated by horses, drawing them from life and from memory, from every angle.

Latter-day biographers, including Britain's Sir Kenneth Clark, have presumed that Leonardo was a homosexual, citing as part of their evidence the equivocal smile of the Mona Lisa and the faintly cold, faintly remote quality of his drawings.

Leonardo was supremely a man of infinite possibilities—so many that only a fraction of them were ever realized. He should have devoted himself to painting, say the painters. To engineering, say say the painters. To engineering, say planners. To anatomy, say the anatomist. His drawings most completely preserve and record what he dreamed and was. His legacy, his inspiration and was. His legacy, his inspiration and was. TURN ON. TUNE IN. HANDS OFF.



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TIME, JUNE 20, 1969 69

# RELIGION

# ECUMENISM

"Our Name Is Peter"

One of the first Romans to visit (Senewa was Julius Casara, who 2,000 years ago destroyed a bridge there to keep the Helvetians from crossing the Rhone River. Last week another historic Romer Last week and the Last week another historic Romer Last week and the Last was a last with the Last was a last with the Last was a last was

From the viewpoint of public interest, the Geneva trip was something of a disappointment. Except for an openair evening Mass celebrated by the Pope in the Parc de la Grange, where 60,000 people showed up, the crowds were amazingly small. Some Protestant traditionalists showed their displeasure at the visit by holding a prayer vigil at the supposed site of Calvin's grave, and nine Presbyterian ministers picketed World Council headquarters with signs saying "No peace with Rome" shortly before the Pope's arrival. The major threat to the peace of the day-a planned demonstration by Ulster's militant Rev. Ian Paisley-was foiled when Swiss authorities stopped him at the airport.

One Dimension, Officially, the Pope's major appearance of the exhausting 20hour day was his address to the 50thanniversary meeting of the International Labor Organization, which had first invited him to Geneva. In an impassioned 4,500-word, 40-minute speech, Paul gave his listeners a sympathetic, near-encyclopedic appraisal of the problems of the workingman. He quoted New Left Philosopher Herbert Marcuse, lamenting that technology was threatening to turn man into a creature of "one dimension. and warmly praised French Socialist Albert Thomas, who founded the ILO half a century ago. The rebellion of youth, said the Pontiff, "resounds like a signal of suffering and an appeal for justice" against a technological world that has no worthwhile place for them.

The real event of the trip was Pope Paul's carefully planned one-hour visit to the headquarters of the World Council. Presbyterian Eugene Carson Blake, general secretary of the World Council, acknowledged the historic import of the meeting in his welcome, telling the Pope that his visit "proclaims to the whole world that the ecumenical movement flows on ever wider, ever deeper toward the unity and renewal of Christ's church." For his own part, Pope Paul seemed to indicate that such unity might have to wait a while. He startled some World Council members by explicitly calling attention to his papal office-the one issue likely to keep the Catholic

Church out of the organization for some years to come. "Our name is Peter," said the Pope, "Scripture tells us which meaning Christ has willed to attribute to this name, what duties He lays upon us, the responsibilities of the apostle and his successors."

Froternol Fronkness. In any event, Roman Catholic membership in the World Council is not likely to become a reality during Paul's reign. "In fraternal frankness," said the Pope, "we do not consider that the question is so mature that a positive answer could or should be given. The question still remains a hypothesis, It contains serious



POPE PAUL IN GENEVA Even a quote from Marcuse.

theological and pastoral implications." Even so, Paul had warm praise for the World Council as a "marvelous movement of Christians, 'of children of God scattered abroad.' "The guiding principle for the Roman Catholic Church, the Pope assured the council, "will always be the search for the unity willed by Christ." Then, with his entourage, Paul VI joined Blake and other council leaders in a brief ecumenical service including a scriptural reading by Jan Cardinal Willebrands and a common recitation of the Lord's Prayer. The Pontiff had declined to have the service at the council's interdenominational chapel. but paused there for a moment of silent meditation before leaving.

Despite the cautionary tone of Paul's speech, his visit nonetheless pleased the World Council; as recently as ten years ago, a Catholic priest was severely reprimanded by the Vatican after he attended a World Council reception in

Geneva, "It took courage for the Pope to come here," said one top-echelon to come here," said one top-echelon World Council official. "This is a place where he is often rubbed the wrong way." That the Pope had made the wist anyway, noted the official, signified that Paul had "consecrated the Vatican II decree on ecumenism, which finally recognized 'the others' as churches in their own right."

Roman Catholic membership in the World Council may be for the moment out of the question; active cooperation, on the other hand, is not only possible but seems to expand every single month. So far, Rome and Geneva have established a Joint Committee on Society, Development and Peace, and Catholic theologians participate fully in the council's Commission on Faith and Order. There is also a joint working group examining such mutual problems as mixed marriage, intercommunion, proselytization and the authority of Scripture. And on a local level there are countless other ecumenical efforts, including, in one field alone, more than 100 joint Bible translations currently in progress in various countries around the world.

# **DEVOTIONS**

The Heavenly Jobless

It was almost worse than if God had died. Not very many people know God, after all. But saints are another story: often they are local boys who had made good. Thus when word came out of Rome last month that some saints had been dropped from a new liturgical calendar (TIME, May 16), both their devout followers and a surprising number of nondevout allies were outraged. The Vatican apparently viewed the new calendar as a routine liturgical change. hardly noticeable in an age of guitar Masses. But the Pope might just as well have issued an encyclical against baseball

That Kind of Guy. Protestants, Catholics, Jews and even nonbelievers were suddenly making common cause on behalf of sanctity. A mock-solemn committee of agnostics and believers descended on a local unemployment office in Los Angeles and picketed in favor of the "heavenly jobless." A truck driver in Boston took his St. Christopher statue off the dashboard, had his first accident in 35 years, and ruefully put it back. An international fraternity of Christopherphiles with headquarters in France reported that enrollments were climbing. Columnist Art Buchwald, a Jew, speculated that good old St. Christopher would go right on protecting travelers, calendar or no, because he's "that kind of guy.

In Massachusetts, an anonymous worshiper at St. Barbara's Church in Woburn began placing fresh flowers at the statue of the church's demoted patron saint. A woman in a crowded Naples streetear invoked the name of St. Januarius—the city's patron—when the car

# When you invest a billion dollars to help the cities, you learn some things.

Myth: "You can't save the cities. Blacklash will

the urban problem all alone. Myth: "Big business can solve the urban problem all alone?

Choose your cliché and come out swinging. So many myths have sprung up around the problems of the cities that the myths themselves are problems.

But when you actually get in and grapple with the problem, the myths just fall away. For example, it might seem very gratifying to businessmen if all they had to do was apply some corporate mind and money to make the cities bloom again overnight. Or, alternatively, if they could simply hang a "For Government Only" sign on the subject and walk away from all

responsibility. We in the life insurance business found from experience that neither response is valid We found this when we got

involved

Back about 18 months ago, a lot of life insurance companies got together to try to solve some of the inner cities' problems. We felt there

A lot that is said about Like the myths that "those people never do anything to help themselves," acklash will."

Myth: "Government can solve **urban problems** We found constructive people urban problem all alone."

"Urban problem all alone." is pure myth.

was a job we could do there, with our knowledge of investing in housing and in projects that create employment. So the life insurance companies pledged a billion dollars for the effort.

his was no normal, business-asusual investment. Our business knew that capital for the inner cities was not readily available on reasonable terms, because of risk or location. But nonetheless the need for such funds was very great.

After all, our business is intimately involved with people, with their health and safety. And people live in the cities. You might say that people are the cities. The health of one means the health of the other. And both together mean the health of business. Any business

The billion-dollar investment is now almost completely committed.

And in the process is debunking some myths. Like those we mentioned or that "the poor are always with us."

We found constructive people exposed us to responsible

leaders. To people eager to build In short, we found people.

We found reason to invest still

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A second billion dollars with the same aims as the first. A second billion that will help

utilize what we learned from the first. To help others learn some things they might do, we've prepared a booklet: "The cities ... your challenge,

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PICKETING FOR THE SAINTS IN LOS ANGELES
As bad as an encyclical against baseball.

suddenly stopped and slammed passengers together. A few seconds later, she changed her tone in disgust. "The devil with San Gennaro! He's no good any more. My poor saint!"

Devotees of St. George and St. Nicholas were more solemily perturbed. In London, Tory M.P. John Bigss-Davison, a Roman Catholic, wondered if "Anglicans and Orthodox were consulted, in the spirit of Christian unity. Cavalrymen laying their wreath at St. George's statue, Scouts marching past the sovereign on St. George's Day will

think no less of their patron, but they will think less kindly of Rome. "In Washington, D.C., the Russian Orthodox community expressed its feelings by packing the church for a May feast day honoring St. Nicholas. Some Orthodox churchmen complained that Rome insulted their faith by unitlaterally downgrading saints who were especially revered by Eastern Christianity.

Central Mysteries. Actually, Rome's reform was an attempt to carry out one of the mandates of the Second Vatican Council: to update an antiquated liturgical calendar that was cluttered with unfamiliar, and in some cases probably fictional figures. Some of the updating consisted of replacing little-known early martrys (and no less than 17 catly martrys (and no less than 17 catly included Uganda martyrs,\* for instance, are among the calendar's relatively few laymen. A more important reason: renewed emphasis through the liturgical year on emphasis through the liturgical year on some control of the co

It all might have worked smoothly had the Vatican bothered to prepare people for the news. What Rome needs most, some Catholic churchmen suggested, is a couple of good public relations men. In the weeks since the announcement, the Vatican has tried valiantly to assure everyone concerned that the decalendarized saints have not lost their halos. Their continued presence among the ten thousand spiritual heroes in the Roman martyrology-the Vatican's official compendium of saints -means they may still be invoked as names at baptism, patrons of churches, and as good friends to the prayerful. But Father Pierre Jounel, the Vatican aide who announced the changes, seems to be resigned to a bit of retribution all the same. "When I arrive in Heaven," he is reported to have said, "they'll be waiting for me with cudgels."

\* Some 22 Christians, mostly court page boys, put to death by an anti-Christian tribal ruler in Uganda during 1885-1887.

# MILESTONES

Married, John O. Laird, 21, son of Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, currently a junior at Wisconsin State University; and Nancy Claire Huset, 21, also a student at Wisconsin State; in a Lutheran ceremony in Chetek, Wis.

Married. Jacqueline Grennan, 42, outspoken president of Missouri's Webster College and a former nun, who received dispensation to leave the Roman Catholic sisterhood in 1967; and Paul Joseph Wexler, 49, Jewish recording-company executive; he for the second time; in a private ceremony conducted by a Iesuit priest; in Webster Groves, Mo.

Divorced, Eddie Fisher, 40, sometime crooner-actor, onetime husband of Elizabeth Taylor; by Connie Stevens, 30, pert star of TV's Hawaiian Eye; on grounds of cruelty; after one and a half years of marriage, two children; in Santa Moniea, Calif.

Divorced. Rod Steiger, 44, burly, Academy Award-winning master of a hundred faces (The Pawnbroker, In the Heat of the Night, No Way to Treat a Lady); by Claire Bloom, 37, the wistful ballerina in Charlie Chaplin's 1952 film Limelight, and veteran Shakespearean

actress; on grounds of incompatibility; after nine years of marriage, one child; in Juarez, Mexico.

Died, Edgar R. Baker Jr., 48, vice president and director of corporate development for Time Inc. and the man largely responsible for the success of TIME-LIFE INTERNATIONAL, which directed the company's operations in nearly 100 lands; of acute infectious hepatitis; in Manhattan, Trained in economics, Baker oversaw the development of T.L.I. in its formative years, sent TIME into virtually every non-Communist country, and organized a fortnightly international edition of LIFE for Spanishspeaking people. More recently, as director of corporate development, he helped lead Time Inc. into a variety of new ventures, among them Boston's Little, Brown & Co., the publishing firm.

Died, Robert Taylor, 57, one of the handsomest and most durable of Hollywood's leading men; of lung cancer; in Santa Monica, Calif. Born Spangler Arlington Brugh, Taylor broke into movies in 1934 and within three years had appeared in 15 features; his fans flocked to see him in such films as Waterloo Bridge, Bataan and Quo Vadis. In later

years, Taylor won critical as well as popular acclaim for such workmalike sitts as the mental patient in 1947's High Wall. As Longtime Friend Ronald Reagan said in his eulogy: "He was more than a pretty boy, an image that embarrassed him because he was a man who respected his profession and was a master of it."

Died. Baron George Wrangell, 65, Russian aristocrat and onetime New York Journal-American society columnist, who made advertising history in 1951 when he donned an eyepatch (though he had 20/20 vision) and posed as the original "man in the Hathaway shirt"; of a heart attack; in Manhattan.

Died, Martita Hunt, 69, one of the great ladies of the English stage and screen, who enthralled American audiences as the sinister Miss Hawisham in the 1947 film version of Great Expectations, and in 1948 as the wondrously wacky rag-bag old crone in Broadway's The Madwoman of Chaillot; in London.

Died. John L. Lewis, 89, leonine titan of the U.S. labor movement (see The NATION).

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# SCIENCE

# RELATIVITY

Gravitating Toward Einstein
The General Theory of Relativity that

Albert Einstein published in 1916 proposed nothing less than an all-embracing theory of gravity. Over the years, as scientists devised increasingly subtle experiments to test Einstein's predictions, the General Theory withstood all challenges. But no one was able to check Einstein's conclusion that massive celestial bodies accelerating in space or undergoing cataclysmic events should give off gravitational radiation, a form of energy similar to radio waves that travels at the speed of light. This week, after more than a decade of work. University of Maryland Physicist Joseph Weber offered the first convincing physical evidence of that elusive gravitational

To make his measurements. Weber and his colleagues built a gavitational wave detector of extraordinary sensitivity that can record extremely small stresses and strains caused in its own structure by the impact of gravity waves from distant space. But, Weber had to be able to differentiate gravity-wave patterns from those caused by any terrestrial movements or electromagnetic disturbances, to say nothing of the constant activity of the detector's own

Similar Peaks. To make this delicate distinction, Weber set up identical instruments at his headquarters in College Park, Md., and at the Argonne National Laboratory, outside Chicago, nearly 700 miles away. As expected the wave patterns traced out were at first random and dissimilar because the readings were being taken so far apart. Then, for a brief instant last December, the waves suddenly jumped into remarkably similar, simultaneous peaks. During the next seven months, the parallel movements occurred about 40 more times. The only possible explanation for those multiple coincidences, wrote Weber in a report to Physical Review Letters, a publication of the American Physical Society, was that the instruments had actually recorded gravity waves from far out in space.

Although he has not yet pinpointed the origin of the waves, Weber thinks that they may have come from some massive object in the Milky Way, Weber says that by measuring gravity waves, astronomers may be able to explore still other fascinating mysteries of space. By building larger detectors, for example, astronomers could learn more about pulsars. If they are actually spinning neutron stars, as many astronomers have come to believe, they could be producing the kind of gravitational effect postulated by Einstein. The detection of gravity waves, Weber adds, gives man "a new set of windows for the study of the universe."

# MARINE RESEARCH

In a small control room on the Bahamian island of North Bimin, Marine Biologist Arthur Mytherg pushed a button, then stared intently at a television monitor. Within half a minute, the TV screen came allow with thrashing sharks, groupers, snappers and other large in-prising under the clock Mytherge surprising the cloc

By pressing the button, the University of Maint scientist had set of a low-frequency sound projector submerged in 60 ft. of water on the ocean floor. To any carnivorous fish within earshot, the signals probably seemed similar to the noises made by other fish when they continued to the conditions of stress. Excited by the apparent proximity of prey, the apparent proximity of prey, the sharks and other predators greedily converged on the sound projector.

Sound Assumption. Myrberg's sharkcalling technique is an outgrowth of his studies of fish behavior financed by the Office of Naval Research and the National Science Foundation. After starting his research on North Bimini in 1965, he proceeded on the assumption that fish communicate better accustically is carried farther in water than in the air, and three or four times as fast.

air, and interest rout mines as been chose the bioofered damselfish, which is abundant and active in the clear waters off North Bimin and emits a large variety of sounds. By recording underwater noises and observing the behavior that accompanied each sound, he quickly learned parts of the damselfish language and began using it to control his subsound, for example, he caused the damselfish and the proposed of the control his subsound, for example, he caused the damselfish and the subsound for example, he caused the damselfish and the subsound for example, he caused the damselfish and the subsound for example, he caused the damselfish and the subsound for example, he caused the damselfish and the subsound for example, he caused the damselfish and the subsound for example, he caused the damselfish and the subsound for example, he caused the damselfish and the subsound for example, he caused the damselfish and the subsound for example, he caused the damselfish and the subsound for example an

selfish to twist 45 degrees and then make a U-shaped dip, a pattern it often follows during spawning. Another recorded call actually caused color changes on the body of the fish.

"One day," says Myrberg, "I was sitting there hitting the chirp' button, but visibility was so bad that I couldn't follow the little damselfish." Firstrated, he told his sound man to try a different set of signals. No sooner did the sound projector begin broadcasting a low-frequency tone than "bang, the whole area was filled with sharks." A chance turn of the dals had paid off with completely unex-

pected information.

Finny Borrier, Scientists now foresee exciting possibilities in the control of fish by sonic commands. They might, for example, be used to lure dangerous fish away from swimming areas of from divers in the sea. There are even perman initiary applications polar shark frequency, a sound projector could provide a monred ship with an effective

finny barrier against enemy frogmen. More important, Myrberg's studies of the linguistics of fish may help to fill the world's food needs. Once sharks and other predators that normally swim singly or in small groups can be concentrated into selected areas, it may become profitable for commercial fishermen to "harvest" them, thereby tapping a rich new source of protein. Similar tactics might be used to satisfy less adventuresome tastes in seafood. "If we can make this little damselfish twist and turn around in the open sea," says Myrberg, "maybe some day we can make a snapper jump into a net."



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# BUSINESS

# THE CRITICAL FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION

THE U.S. is a frustrated nation, but not all the blame for that condition attaches to the war in Viet Nam, racial bitterness, campus violence and crime in the streets. Government, business and consumers are deeply troubled by another major source of national tension: the rising pace of inflation. Though the U.S. standard of living is still the highest ever achieved, the value of the nation's currency is dwindling alarmingly. It has gone down by almost two-thirds in the past 30 years. A 1958 dollar is worth only 79¢ today, which means that a man must earn 26% more after taxes to buy the same goods. This year the erosion in purchasing power has sharply accelerated. A dollar received as recently as January is worth only 96¢ now, and at the current rate of price increases will shrink to about 92¢ by Christmas.

Inflation has distorted the entire economy. It has forced the Government to raise taxes, curtail its spending for social programs and reduce the supply of money. One result is that interest rates have climbed to their highest levels in a century, spreading turmoil in the financial markets and discomfort in corporate board rooms. Businessmen gloomily foresee a slow year for profits. Consumers, despite their affluence, feel financially strapped and vexed to the point of outrage at the soaring prices they must pay for both the necessities and the luxuries of life. President Nixon says that an attack on inflation is his number one domestic priority. His economists, led by Chairman Paul McCracken of the Council of Economic Adbringing on the recession that Nixon deeply fears

Last week the battle against inflation entered a new and crucial phase. The phase began when the nation's commercial banks raised their minimum interest charge for loans from 71% to an unprecedented 81%-a move that was widely interpreted as a portent of a serious credit crisis. The next day, the Government's top economic policymakers managed to sound downright alarmist as they made a rare joint appearance at a Washington press conference to plead for an extension of the 10% surtax on personal and corporate incomes. That tax, which is due to expire June 30, is designed to fight inflation by reducing demand and increasing the Government's budget surplus.

#### Red Flags

Chairman William McChesney Martin of the Federal Reserve Board warned that without the surtax "we cannot succeed" in slowly controlling today's "critically serious" inflation. Sitting at his side, Treasury Secretary David M. Kennedy\* declared: "The problem is much more difficult than I realized. We can't let this escalate into runaway inflation. and we're very close to that now." If Congress allows the tax to expire, he added, the economy could race far enough out of control to create "the possibility of a serious recession." To prevent that, Secretary Kennedy warned that the Government would have to con-

\* Who was accompanied by Paul Volcker,

sider further budget cuts, tighter money and perhaps, as a last and unwelcome resort, the price and wage controls that the Administration abhors.

Both men were obviously waving red flags at Congress, which in economic matters often has a low level of sophistication and which has been delaying consideration of the tax extension. The main trouble lies in the House. where many Democrats demand broadscale and much-needed tax reform as their price for supporting the surcharge. Hoping to avoid a rapidly developing impasse, President Nixon called House leaders of both parties to the White House. Over coffee, they agreed to make the extension bill more attractive by adding a Nixon proposal to drop 2,000,000 poverty-level families from the federal income tax rolls. That should assure passage when the measure reaches the House floor this week.

Tighter money, the tax fight and the mere talk of controls made investors highly nervous about the future. On the New York Stock Exchange, the Dow Jones industrial average fell four days out of five last week. Altogether, it described by the control of the cont



MARTIN, VOLCKER, KENNEDY & STEIN AT PRESS CONFERENCE
All the signals point to strain and sacrifice.



more strain, sacrifice and hard decisions lie ahead for the economy.

Inflation is to the economy what pollution is to the environment-a corrosive force that unbalances everything. Though 16% of the nation's plant capacity stands idle, businessmen have been expanding their factories at a record rate, buying machines and materials now to beat further price rises and economize on scarce and costly labor. Export prices have risen more during the past year in the U.S. than in any other major country but Canada and Britain, and the nation's traditional trade surplus has all but disappeared. Wage gains are exceeding the increase in workers' productivity, pushing up costs all around Some of the fastest rises are in pay for service workers-laundry men, bus drivers, retail clerks-who produce no more than before and sometimes much less. more and more people are shifting from steak to hamburger. When the Michael Satchells of Kansas City, Mo., had their first daughter 21 years ago, the doctor's bill was \$150, and the labor room cost \$25; when their first son was born this month, the doctor charged \$200, and the labor room was \$45. Around Boston, admission tickets to drive-in movies recently went from \$1.25 to \$1.75; in Manhattan and Chicago's Loop, movies commonly cost \$3. Detroit's automakers will lift prices on the 1970 models this autumn.

Today, inflation hurts almost everyone, but some are damaged more than others (see box, opposite page). The impact falls most notoriously on those who have the most meager means to withstand it-the poor, the black and the aged. It cheats the thrifty, taking money from every owner of a U.S. sav-

ical worker with three dependents jumped by an average 15% annually. His average pre-tax earnings went up from \$95,06 a week to \$108,73, but after his paycheck was gutted by taxes and inflation, his real purchasing power advanced only 8¢, from \$78.53 to \$78.61 As is usual in any price-wage spiral,

labor has come in late for its share of inflation's dubious rewards. Now unions are trying to catch up by wringing huge wage increases from employers. Conservative Economist Milton Friedman argues that these increases are only another reflection of inflation, not an initial cause of it, though there is no doubt that big increases keep the spiral going. Cement workers have just won 20% increases in wages and benefits in contracts covering the next two years. Three maritime unions have accepted a three-year, 35% raise from Eastern and Gulf Coast shipping lines. Striking Kansas City plumbers and pipefitters settled for a 35% increase over three years; it will raise a plumber's pay to \$9.21 an hour.

#### Revolt of the Craftsmen

Lately, sociologists have detected a powerful emotional backlash behind some exorbitant wage demands. Skilled craftsmen feel squeezed and cheated by the proliferation of Government programs to aid people who stand below them on the economic ladder, particularly Negroes and welfare recipients. Some of these groups also seem to threaten the social values and institutions that the craftsmen revere. Resentful, rebellious and well organized, the craftsmen are out to win all they can at the bargaining table, if only to even the

Voters across the U.S. are venting their irritation by rejecting more and more municipal bond issues, school budgets and local tax increases. Two weeks ago, Oregon voters rejected a proposed 3% sales tax by a margin of 8 to 1, the most lopsided defeat for a ballot proposition in Oregon's 110 years of statehood. Construction costs are so high that many communities have had to cut back on civic improvements. Kansas City has curtailed its road-building program; it is short \$1,000,000 to finish a \$2,000,000 jail; it has built only three, rather than the six community centers for which people voted bonds.

If inflation worsens in the months ahead, more and more federal social programs will have to be reduced or deferred. The Government simply will not be able to finance them without adding to the price spiral. On the other hand, if Nixon's anti-inflationary measures are strong enough to produce even a mild recession, the President may find himself in serious trouble with many voters.

Nixon's most delicate problem is how to overturn so-called inflation psychology-the public's feeling that inflation, like poverty, has taken permanent root



"That," says Yale Economist William Fellner, "is what makes life less and less comfortable in a rich, industrial country.'

Inflation has damaged the quality of life in the U.S., particularly in cities, and is cutting into the social fabric. Companies find it increasingly difficult to lure employees from field offices to headquarters cities where prices are highest, particularly in New York and Chicago. Lofty interest rates and fast-rising land and construction costs aggravate the nation's shortage of modern housing and put homes beyond the financial reach of many people.

### Who Gets Hurt

Inflation has become a favored topic of conversation. People seem to have a pecking order of complaint about which price rises are most aggravating. They are, in approximate rank, the increases in food, taxes, mortgages and rents, medical care, home repairs and, finally, everything else. Because beef prices have climbed 8% to 10% in the past year, ings bond and every depositor in a savings account. Speculators in stocks and real estate often profit from inflation, but bondholders can lose fortunes if they have to sell their securities. The recent plunge in bond prices, caused by increasing interest rates, has reduced the value of many pension and profit-sharing funds, much to the dismay of workers nearing retirement.

Prices and taxes are rising so fast that, despite full employment and increasing pay, the typical American is hardly better off than he was in the mid-'60s. Corporate profits are no higher than they were three years ago, when inflation took hold. In 1968, consumer prices rose 4.3%, the swiftest leap in 18 years, and many family incomes failed to match the pace. Economist George Frey of the Manhattan consulting firm of Lionel D. Edie & Co. figures that the standard of living for U.S. workers has remained at the same plateau for three years. During that period, prices rose by an average 3.3% a year, and taxes of all kinds paid by a typ-

# How Inflation Hits Three Families

NFLATION discriminates among its victims. It hurts the life styles of some families more than others, depending on their size, income, and even their personal tastes. Sample effects on three families in different income brackets

Upper-Middle Income. The aptly named Costley family of Rockville, Md.-Nancy, 35, Wayne, 37, and five children aged five to ten-do not feel that they are going broke on \$25,000 a year, but neither are they getting anywhere. Wayne, a vice president of Consultec, a management-consulting firm, earns \$10,000 a year more than he did in 1964. "But even with steady increases in salary," he says, "I don't see any increase in buying power."

Mrs. Costley, a former TWA hostess who is a part-time religion teacher and Little League batting coach, is anything but extravagant. She asks her butcher to trim fat off meats so that she will not have to pay for it. Still, she spends \$85 a week for food and other household items, or twice as much as four years ago. The Costleys not long ago added a porch, patio and basketball court to their ten-room, \$46,000 house, at a cost of \$4,200, or \$1,200 more than they would have paid in 1967. "But I still don't have any dining-room chairs," says Mrs. Costley. "It is just something we have had to postpone. She tried recently to save on sneakers for her four boys by picking up two pairs for \$4 each at a sale, but they soon "disintegrated" and she had to go back to buying sneakers at \$9 a pair.

"Virtually nothing is going into the savings account," savs Wayne Costley. "I'm still in my 30s, but I don't have the freedom to enjoy these years. There's no boat, there are no trips. I work hard, but it amounts to Nancy's going on vacation with the kids once in four years.'

Middle-Income. The Munson family of Geneva, Ill.-Judy, 27, Lester Jr., 28, and two sons aged nine weeks and 20 months-spends its income of about \$16,000 on things that older people might consider luxuries but that the Munsons regard as necessities. They have greatly increased their living standards in the four vears since they married. Munson is an associate in his father's law firm. and last September the family moved from a Chicago apartment to a \$32,-500 house in the exurbs.

Mrs. Munson protests the rising cost of plastic baby pants (69¢ a pair v. 29¢ less than two years ago) and of teen-agers who come in as "mother's helpers" four mornings a week (they now charge \$1.25 an

hour, up from 75¢ a year ago). She has furnished the house with used pieces rather than new furniture. She thought of economizing by making her own clothes, but concluded that there would be no saving "because the price of fabric has skyrocketed. To make an average dress, including lining, costs \$25.

Entertainment is a must item for the Munsons. "When you're still young, and when you have two babies, this is one place where you don't want to cut down-if only for sanity's sake," says Mrs. Munson She and her husband have substituted a local movie for their former weekly trip into Chicago, where they used to see plays. They hold one dinner party a week, even though Mrs. Munson complains that it costs an "ab-

solute minimum" of \$45. Lower-Middle Income. The Lazorcaks of suburban Pittsburgh —Diane, 30, Paul, 33, and two sons, aged five and two-have found that, as Mrs. Lazorcak puts it, "only the wealthy can afford inflation." On a net income of \$8,600 last year, which was \$1,500 less than in 1967, the Lazorcaks certainly cannot afford it. Husband and wife work together in D's Pizza Shop, which they own. Mr. Lazorcak has raised his pizza prices from \$1.50 to \$2 in the last 18 months but cannot keep up with the climbing costs of such simple items as tomato paste. He confesses that his income may be falling because he is too discouraged to work as hard as he used to. "When you knock yourself out and discover that you're making less-well, you figure it's a losing battle," he says.

For the Lazorcaks, inflation is the killer of the dream. One reason, Lazorcak says, is rising rent-up \$15 a month last year. His wife stretches the dollar by growing her own fruits and vegetables in a garden. The couple's last night out was on their sixth anniversary-and it cost them a prohibitive \$40. Lazorcak, a high-school graduate, thinks only vaguely about going to college some day to study architecture. He has abandoned hopes of opening additional pizza shops because, unlike the heads of bigger businesses, he cannot raise money. Diane has dropped plans to enlarge their kitchen and add another room to the house because "it probably would cost something like \$2,000." They do not feel that they can even protect themselves against illness by continuing Blue Cross coverage. "Six years ago, we paid \$50 a quarter; now it's \$95," says Diane. "We just had to cancel out and quit thinking about what will happen if one of us gets seriously sick."







PENNSYLVANIA'S LAZORCAKS

in the U.S. This pervasive belief is the potent new force in the nation's economic pattern. It prompts millions of Americans to save less and to buy now, borrow now, build now, invest now. Businessmen in particular have done that on the hitherto sound theory that delay will only lead to higher costs and that inflation is likely to bail out even the

most marginal venture.

Bankers realize that Washington's poliizymakers are deadly serious about deicymakers are deadly serious about detection of the properties of the properties of the protos spend a record \$72.2 billion on plant expansion and modernization during 1969 show that they expect the price spiral to persist. If prices continue to go then businessmen can easily afford to borrow at 10%. The income tax deutchibity of interest cuts the real cost in half, to 5%. Then, every dollar retinually the properties of the properties of the in the properties of properties propertie

of the loan will be almost nil.

Many bankers and economists argue
that the inflation psychology cannot be
correled unless the Government creates
a necessary element of doubt about the
makes businessment fearful that there
might be a recession. As long as busimessmen expect nothing worse than brief
pauses in the nation's growth, they will
go right on investing in new machines
and factories. Economist Albert T. Somference Board, sees a flaw in the polference Board, sees a flaw in the polference Board, sees a flaw in the pol-

icies that guided the nation in its unprecedented period of business expansion. "The basic problem is that the Government is committed to full employment, and everybody knows it," he says. "This reduces the power of statements designed to halt inflationary psychology." Sommers adds: "There does not seem to be any riskless, costless, comfortable exaper from the psychology of

The bankers struck a blow against inflationary psychology last week by raising their lending rates. Led by Manhattan's Bankers Trust Co., the banks increased their prime rate for the fifty of an imminent credit crisis, some rise had been widely expected. Banks were strapped for cash at a time when corporations needed to borrow heavily to help pay some 31.8 billion in dederal in-

Still, the size of the increase—a record-high one percentage point—caused a furor in Washington. Treasury Secretary Kennedy maintained that the banks, instead off trying to price some companies out of the market for loans, should ration credit among corporate borrowers. That is precisely what banks want to avoid, except for marginal risks and economically unproductive loans and economically unproductive loans constructed to the control of the control o

rate increase was a defensive step taken reductantly in response to the Federal Reserve's hold-down on the money supply. Two weeks ago, interest rates on long-term corporate bonds rose so high that some companies fled the bond market and sought capital help from the banks, where rates were lower. So the bankers raised their rates to try to cut

the demand for loans. Big companies will be able to pay the new price of credit. Many bankers went out of their way to assure consumers and small businessmen that the rates they pay for loans will not be raised in proportion to the new primerate increase. But mortgage rates immediately moved up to 91% in California and Colorado, and lenders in many cities raised the fees by which they increase their take from mortgage loans, without actually changing the interest rate. For the immediate future. the higher money rates will add to the upward pressure on prices. Companies figure interest charges as part of their cost of doing business, and the consumer must ultimately pay the bill. Like it or not, bankers will have to ration money because there is just not enough of it to meet the loan demand. Says John Holman, senior vice president of San Francisco's Wells Fargo Bank: "There are no loans for speculation of any kind-stocks, bonds, commodities,

# Warfare and Welfare

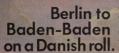
People correctly complain that prices are going up faster under Nixon than they did under President Johnson, but the blame belongs to the Johnson Administration. In the mid-1960s, Lyndon Johnson pressed ahead simultaneously with both the Great Society and the Viet Nam escalation, without requesting an increase in taxes, Between 1965 and 1968, federal spending jumped 47%, and the Government put much more money into the economy than it took out. Johnson feared that if he asked for higher taxes, Congress would balk at paying for what some economists now call the "marriage of the warfare and the welfare states." When Johnson belatedly asked for a tax increase in 1967, Congress dallied for ten months before enacting it. By the time the surcharge took effect a year ago, the fed-

eral deficit had swelled to \$25 billion. The Federal Reserve compounded the difficulties by unwisely permitting the money supply to grow much too fast. partly because it had to supply funds to finance the Government debt. Last summer the board's governors erroneously concluded that the surcharge might jolt the economy into recession. The board then expanded the money supply at an annual rate of 11%, which meant that there was more money around than the increased output of goods warranted. Naturally, prices went up faster than before. So far this year, the board has not increased the money supply at all, but its mistake of 1968 set back the cam-

# The Costly Market Basket

SURPRISINGLY, the average price of such foods as chicken and coffee was lower last March than during 1938. Almost every other kind of food, however, was up—or way up. The prices, estimated by the Labor Department from data collected in 56 metropolitan areas, represent typical items in a housewife's market basket. Prices are, of course, much higher in many places.

ITEM	AMOUNT	1958	1967	1969
Round steak		\$1 04	\$1.10	\$1.19
				58
Beef rib roast		82	.94	1.01
Veal cutlets				1.87
				1.05
	lb			.72
				41
				70
	1/2 gal			.55
Ice cream	1/2 gal	59		.81
	lb			.84
	doz			60
	5 lb.			.61
Coffee	1 lb			76
Baby food	41/2-oz. jar	10	.10	.11
Bread (white)	1 lb			.23
Corn flakes	12 oz	25	.31	.31
Apples			.21	24
Oranges	doz.	76	.77	.83
Potatoes	10 lb	63	.75	.78
Lettuce	head		.28	34
				.44



Or maybe a quick spin around the estate.

That was the idea of an inventive Dane named Svend Soederblom, His weird-looking velocipede could hit a remarkable 24 mph. The rider sat in a saddle at the center of the wheel, pedoling by hand.

Reportedly, Svend used his bike for hunting fox. Although aiming a gun while riding would take betterthan-average dexterity.

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paign against inflation by about six months. With 20/20 hindsight, Arthur Okun, who was President Johnson's chief economist, concedes that "it has just been too easy to raise prices and wages. Nobody was scared of losing markets or jobs. Management knew that competitors would follow them rather than fight them. The villain of the piece was just too much demand."

#### The Awkward Months

How long before inflation will be stopped? Changes in monetary policy usually take six months to a year to be felt through the entire economy. Since the money supply was tightened only six months ago, White House Economist McCracken figures that the U.S. is now going through the "awkward months" of waiting for the effects to become visible. When money is restricted and taxes raised, the usual sequence is that production slows down after some months. then profits drop and businessmen cut back on hiring. Prices are the last to fall. Usually they come down only after demand slackens substantially; sometimes, they rise right through a recession.

McCracken says that "we may be seeing the early signs of the cooling of inflationary pressures"-and many other experts agree with him. The nation's output of goods and services is expanding only half as fast as a year ago, and that growth may stop entirely during the summer. The volume of retail sales has been sluggish for a year, and unemployment, still a low 3.5%, is up slightly from 3.3% earlier this year. Of the three principal forces in the economy, two have lost most of their lift. Government spending and consumer spending are relatively flat; only businessmen's extremely large capital investments are keeping the economy expanding at all

Considering all the signals of slowdown, it is curious that there is so much talk about price and wage controls. Almost nobody wants them, "In peacetime they don't work," says Trea-sury Secretary Kennedy. Economist Paul McCracken warns that controls would not only require "a large bureaucracy" but put a premium on "string pulling, political pull or on willingness to pay for favorable governmental decisions." Milton Friedman says: "Controls do more harm than inflation itself. If you don't use prices to ration goods, you have to use something else: queues, favoritism or bribes.'

Washington's traditional monetary and fiscal restraint cannot squeeze all the inflation out of the U.S. economy. The Administration will do well to shrink price increases to 3% next year and to 2% by 1971; some analysts fear that the timetable will run twice that long. Yet only if the slowdown is gradual will Nixon be able to prevent a steep rise in unemployment. An increase to much above 4% might spell political and social trouble. The aim of federal policy is to achieve the "2-4 trade-

# The Expensive Cities

HE following figures represent the yearly gross income that a family of four must earn in each area to of 1967-and since then, consumer

get by on a "mo	oderate"	standard of price	s have	jumped almost 109	6.
Honolulu	\$10,902	Cleveland	9,262	Cincinnati-KyInd.	8,826
New York	9,977	Champaign-Urbana	9,257	Bakersfield, Calif	8,822
Boston		Indianapolis	9,232	Pittsburgh	8,764
Hartford	9.833	San Diego	9,209	Baltimore	8,685
San FranOak	9,774	Portland, Me	9,195	Durham, N.C.	8,641
Buffalo		St. Louis-Southern III.	9,140	Dayton	8,636
Seattle-Everett		Denver	9,080	Nashville	8,388
Milwaukee		Philadelphia	9,079	Baton Rouge	8,348
Minneapolis-St. Pau	9,399	Detroit	8,981	Dallas	8,345
Cedar Rapids	9,358	Kansas City	8,965	Atlanta	8,328
Chicago-N.W. Ind.		Lancaster, Pa	8,960	Houston	8,301
Los Angeles		Green Bay, Wis	8,955	Orlando, Fla	8,227
Wash., D.CMdV	a. 9,273	Wichita	8,907	Austin, Texas	7,952

off"-2% inflation with no more than

The consensus among experts is that the Administration has hit upon the right mixture of restraint-most of it inherited from the last months of the Johnson Administration-to bring down the inflationary rate. What is needed now, as the Federal Reserve's Martin puts it. is "patience, perseverance and persistence." That means that the Government must extend the surtax, keep money tight and sharply limit federal spending.

Pitfalls are everywhere. It will be difficult, for example, for the Administration to devise a formula to keep electrical workers and other unions from winning wage increases of 6% to 7% a year in important labor negotiations coming up this fall. Harvard Economist Otto Eckstein believes that if 6% wage increases become a pattern "then that will lead to a 3% general increase in costs for three years, and we will be fighting inflation continuously, even if the

economy softens." HOLD DOWN TAXES

PROTEST IN PENNSYLVANIA Pervasive belief in the permanence.

The economy can fairly comfortably tolerate an inflation rate of 2% yearly, and the Government should aim at that. To do any better, most economists agree that there must be far-reaching reforms. As an obvious starter, Congress should scrap the farm-subsidy programs, which not only cost taxpayers \$5.7 billion a year but artificially inflate the prices of cotton, wheat, corn, soybeans and rice. The subsidies also help to drive up the price of farm land, adding another push to the price of produce.

living. The Labor Department figures,

the latest available, are for the spring

The price of many goods might be reduced if import quotas were abandoned or loosened. Such quotas already provide big price supports for steel and oil, and President Nixon is pressing for quotas on textiles. One paramount question for the future is whether labor unions have become too powerful. In such strike-prone industries as printing, shipping and construction, strong unions often whipsaw weak employers into granting lavish settlements. Unions in all three fields also block the introduction of cost-cutting new technology. Two steps would help redress the balance: 1) the creation of larger and betterfinanced employer bargaining units, and 2) pressures on recalcitrant locals to admit more job-hungry Negro youths, especially in construction trades.

### Elusive Goal

For the coming decade, an inflationweary nation should aim at a so-far elusive goal: stable prices, low unemployment and steady economic growth. The U.S. has already achieved a full-employment society, but the next job will be to devise ways to live comfortably with it. That will not be easy. The material prosperity of the 1960s has not produced tranquillity or happiness for large sections of the nation. A full-employment economy is a delicate mechanism, the clash of powerful forces, notably labor and management. Both forces will have to accept new attitudes, new compromises and, above all, new restraint if the U.S. is to achieve price stability while maintaining its economic freedoms.

# DANCE

# BALLET

Gazelleschaft

Considering the sad record of the past, the idea of a good German ballet troupe might seem as implausible as a Nepalese surfing club. Times have definitely changed. Not long after the curtain lifted at the American debut of the Stuttgart Ballet last week, the audience at Manhattan's Metropolitan Opera House was cheering in disbelief at the light-as-air elegance of a pack of young gazelles from the edge of the

Although the Stuttgart Ballet (formal name: the Württemberg State Theater Ballet) is German mainly through accident of residence, its accomplishments have become as strong a source of pride to its city as the Mercedes and Porsche automobile works located there. Like most major German cities, Stuttgart (pop. 650,000) had long maintained an opera house, with a resident but minimal ballet company to help out where needed. In 1960 John Cranko, then a 33year-old South Africa-born staff choreographer of the Royal Ballet, staged Benjamin Britten's The Prince of the Pagodas in Stuttgart. He was immediately engaged as ballet director, with a mandate to build a company of international

Limitless Variety. Cranko has gone the mandate one better. He has given Stuttgart not only a superbly knit, brilliant young company but has also played on his dancers' strengths to form a style that is like none other. At any given moment in a typical Cranko ballet, the stage bristles with a seemingly limitless variety of movement. Instead of bloodless, assembly-line precision, the Stuttgart's 38-member corps is more apt to suggest a 38-ring circus, with a panoply of gesture and stance that dazzles the viewer's eve.

Cranko's work is at its best in extended ballets with strong dramatic substance. Opening the company's threeweek New York visit was one of his best, an evening-long interpretation of Pushkin's intensely romantic verse-drama Eugene Onegin. Two nights later, the company presented an even more stunning tour de force, a balletic version of Shakespeare's Taming of the Shrew. Both were lavishly mounted, eve-filling pieces. Onegin uses a score by Music Director Kurt-Heinz Stolze based on short pieces by Tchaikovsky. The work moves quickly and assuredly through Pushkin's tale of romance and betraval, never assuming the luxury of a dance-fordance's-sake diversion, bending every movement toward dramatic ends. Shrew, with music by Domenico Scarlatti arranged by Stolze and liberally peppered by his modern harmonies, adds a welcome touch of wit and tenderness to Shakespeare's buffoonery

Both works featured the company's

rima ballerina, Brazilian-born Marcia Havdée, 29, a dancer of stunning technique with the rare ability to turn the simplest body movement into a full statement. Touchingly simple as the lovelorn Russian girl who draws strength from rejection, deliciously rambunctious as Shakespeare's ultimately tamed volcano, Haydée is to the dance what Maria Callas has been to opera. She is an artist incapable of a dull or empty gesture, able to communicate a state of mind through an impressive range of movement or even by standing still. Her frequent partner is California-born Richard Cragun, 24, a bravura but seemingly effortless soloist who within a very few



STUTTGART'S HAYDÉE IN "ONEGIN" Full statement from simplest movement.

years may be the world's finest male

dancer Of 52 ballets currently in the Stuttgart repertory, well over half are by Cranko, created after he took over the company. They range from reworkings of such familiar masterpieces as Giselle and Romeo and Juliet to a mixed-media glorification of contemporary neuroses called Presence. Following its current visit, the company will store its scenery in New York, return to Europe for the summer, and open a transcontinental tour in Philadelphia in October. Stuttgart is beginning to repay Cranko and his company for their contribution to civic fame. Currently under construction back home is a state-subsidized \$1,000,000 ballet school, to assure the continuance of the city as a center for something more than automobiles. That, along with a subsidy from city and state, should keep the Stuttgart Ballet moving swiftly ahead on the autobahn to glory.





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# Who should pick up the tab for treating the ills of our cities?



Are a city's slums its own problem? A lot of people argue that it is. They say, let each clean up its own com-munity. Why should federal taxes paid by all come back to help only a few in special urban areas?

Others say that some cities need a lot of cleaning up; others very little. So if there's going to be federal aid for urban renewal, should it be proportionate to need or the same for portionate to need or the same for every city? Or is it obvious that no city budget can afford so enormous an expense without sacrificing es-sential services or levying excessive financial burdens on its citizens? One thing's for sure — the plight of our cities has to be remedied, one

way or another. And another thing that's for sure — it will take a lot of dollars to do it. So the question is, who pays? Your government will have to make the decision. And your opinions can help make it. So write your Congressman and other oublic. your Congressman and other public officials and tell them what you think Or they'll have to do your thinking

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# THE PRESS

# CENSORSHIP

# Good News for Rocky

Censorship of the press is hardly a rarity in Latin America, but Brazil's military-backed government seems more brazen about it than most. Instead of arresting, warning or otherwise punishing specific editors for printing articles that President Arthur da Costa e Silva finds offensive, the government is now flatly telling the nation's press how to handle stories in advance. Preparing for Nelson Rockefeller's scheduled visit to Brazil this week, the government ordered all editors to "collaborate in order to create a favorable climate for the stay among us of this representative of the Government of the United States of America on his trip of good will." More specifically, the order banned any mention of "hostile acts toward the illustrious visitor in any country of Latin America or reference to the postponement or cancellation of the visit." While Rocky is in Brazil, only positive news about the visit must be printed. Any demonstrations against him must be ignored.

# **MEMOIRS**

# Remembering Robert Kennedy

The anniversary of Robert Kennedy's assassination was marked by the reminiscence of columnists, the rebroadcast of old TV interviews, and the celebration of memorial Masses. But probates the columnists of the c

The strength of David Halberstam's The Unfinished Odvssey of Robert Kennedy (Random House; \$4.95) lies in a felicity of language and a feeling for the political and social unease in the U.S. as the election of 1968 approached. (Halberstam, now 35 and an editor of Harper's magazine, won a Pulitzer prize for his 1963 New York Times coverage of Viet Nam.) He begins his account in the late summer of 1967 with a meeting between Bobby and Allard Lowenstein, a leader of the gathering anti-Johnson forces. He follows the Senator through his doomed campaign, ending with the terrible moment in Los Angeles.

To Halberstam, Kennedy was a man caught between principle and practicality, between the new politics and the old, racked by indecision and buffeted by forces and events beyond prophecy or control. "He was playing Hamlet," writes Halberstam, "thinking about the race constantly, wanting to make it, being led there by his emotions again and again, only to be brought back

from the brink by the cold words of his closet advisors."

The narrative moves swiftly, Maintaining an even, detached perspective, Halberstam generates a momentum that carries the reader headlong into the stone-wall shock of the book's last sentence. Then he descended to acknowledge his victory, to talk about the vination discover in his death what it had never understood or believed about him during his life."

For all its literary flair, Halberstam's Odyssey lacks the historical detail of 85 Days—The Last Campaign of Robert Kennedy, by Jules Witcover (Put-



Most human and most engaging.

nam's; \$6.95). As chief political writer for the Newhouse newspapers, Witcover, 41, saw more of the campaign than Halberstam, and what he failed to see he diligently traced through those who did. Written chronologically (from January 1968 through the June funeral), 85 Days abounds in unreported behind-the-scenes incidents and anecdotes. The author notes, for example, that Kennedy seriously urged TV Newscaster Walter Cronkite to run for Senator in New York. He vividly re-creates a hotelroom scene in which Kennedy, wearing only his shorts, berates Adam Walinsky and Jeff Greenfield, two young speechwriting aides, for spending more time plucking at guitars than pecking at typewriters. At the time, Kennedy was facing defeat in Oregon.

Despite a weakness for the gratuitous aside ("That was Gene McCarthy; he didn't know when he was licked"), Witcover usually keeps his feelings for Kennedy in check; his high exteem for the man comes through all the stronger because he also criticizes some of his actions. Taking Halberstam's Hamlet comparison a step further, Witcover sees in

Kennedy an earlier tragic archetype: "Like a hero in the Greek plays from which he was so fond of quoting to college audiences, he made one colossal error of judgment [waiting too late to declare his candidacy], and his efforts to overcome that fateful mistake determined the nature and the course of his candidacy and his last campaign."

I Over Eye. In Robert Kennedy: A Memoir. Jack Newfield is concerned less with the last campaign than with the man who made it. He sees Kennedy as an existential hero who painfully forged out a new consciousness in the years after Dallas and was transformed from a "McCarthyite (Joe, that is) who often acted as if error had no rights" into a genuine champion of the powerless and the poor. "I can accept the fact I may not be nominated now," Kennedy said to Newfield four days before the California primary. "If that happens, I will just go back to the Senate and say what I believe, and not try again in '72. Somebody has to speak up for the Negroes and Indians and Mexicans and poor whites. Maybe that's what I do best. Maybe my personality just isn't built for this . . . The issues are more important than me now

An assistant editor of the highly independent Greenwich Village weekly newspaper the Village Voice, Newfield, 31, was personally the closest to Kennedy of the three authors. That explains both his book's greatest strengths and its occasional myopia. Clearly, Newplains both his book's greatest strengths and its occasional myopia. Clearly, Newplains both his book's greatest strength or defense of his Remedy the of R.F.K. the Attorney General. And he fails to avoid the greatest danger in personal journalism, a reliance on the

'I" over the eye.

Still, Newfield's intimacy with his subject serves him well in delivering candid recollections. He reports, for example, that Kennedy suspected L.B.J. of tapping his Senate phone and quote him discussing the possibility of Johnson's not running if the President showed up poorly in the primaries: "I think Johnson might quit the night before the convention opens." I think he is a coward."

Though at times discursive and hyperbolic, A Memoir presents the most human and ultimately most engaging Robert Kennedy of the three versions. As might be expected, Newfield's vision of a world without him is excessively bleak. His descript continental apocalypse. "Now I realize, the writes, "what makes our generation unique... We are the first generation that learned

We are the first generation that learned from experience, in our innocent twenties, that things were not really getting better, that we shall not overcome. We felt, by the time we reached thirty, that we had already glimpsed the most comduce, and they had all been assassinated, duce, and they had all been assassinated. And from this time forward, things would get worse: our best political leaders were part of memory now, not hope."

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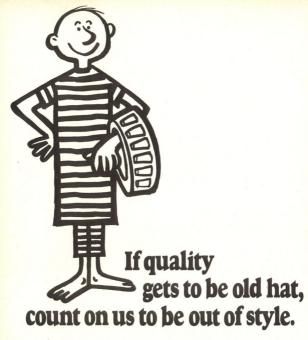
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TIMKEN

# CINEMA

# **NEW MOVIES**

Man and Myth

When the legend becomes fact," says the canny newspaper editor in John Ford's The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance, "print the legend." Sam Peckinpah is a film maker dedicated to telling truths and still preserving the legend of the American West. In feature films (Ride the High Country, Major Dundee) and television shows (The Westerner), his characters are eminently fallible, their deeds frequently inglorious, They are legends both because and in spite of themselves. The Wild Bunch is Peckinpah's most complex inquiry into the metamorphosis of man into myth. Not incidentally, it is also a raucous, violent, powerful feat of American film

One Good Score, The script—which Peckinpals wrote with Walion Green—has the sound and rhythm of a ram—line and the sound and rhythm of a ram—line and read the sound and rhythm of a ram—the basion (William Holden) is the aging leader of a money from previous jobs has just about run out, and the bunch is being trailed by a group of muderous bounty hunters, After an unsuccessful stick-up in the state of the sound that the sound is the sound in the sound in the sound is the sound

The score turns out to be a crazy scheme to steal a U.S. armaments shipment for a freebooting Mexican general named Mapache, a slow-witted executioner fighting a losing battle against Pancho Villa's army, "We share very few sentiments with our government," Bishop explains lightly as his men praper to take the required rifles from a U.S. Army supply train. In 1913, this sort of activity is already anachronistic and doomed to faiture. Trying to fulfill the curns of the contract, the bunch the trans of the contract, the bunch the trans of the contract, the bunch were caught in the vise of their own simplistic code of honor ("When you side with a man, you stay with him," Bishop says). Magache betrays

cutting and slow motion, Peckinpah creates scenes of uncontrolled frenzy in which the feeling of chaotic violence is almost overwhelming. Where the slowmotion murders in Bonnie and Clyde were balletic, similar scenes in The Wild Bunch have the agonizing effect of prolonging the moment of impact, giving each death its own individual horror. Peckinpah repeatedly suggests that the true victims of violence are the young. Children watch the scenes of brutality and carnage wide-eyed, with little fear; a Mexican mother nurses her child by holding her bandolier aside, the baby's tiny fists pressed up against the cartridges. Finally, with mounting excitement, one boy gets to participate in his first fight-and excitedly shoots Pike Bishop in the back.

Peckinpah is sometimes guilty of overkill himself. Action sequences—like an

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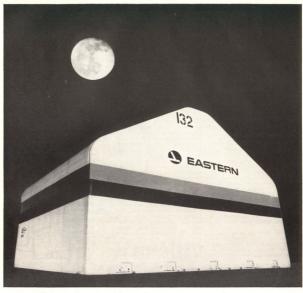
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attack by the Villa forces on Mapache occasionally destroy the continuity of the elaborate story, and flashbacks are introduced with surprising clumsiness. These, happily, are not typical moments. More characteristic are the sweeping visual panorama of the whole film (stunningly photographed by Lucien Ballard) and the extraordinarily forceful acting from a troupe of Hollywood professionals. Holden hasn't done such good work since Stalag 17, and the bunch -Ernest Borgnine, Warren Oates, Ben Johnson, Edmond O'Brien, Jaime Sanchez-all look and sound as if they had stepped out of a discarded daguerreotype. As the reluctant head of the band of bounty hunters, Robert Rvan gives the screen performance of

Final Tenacity. For all this, The Wild Bunch is Sam Peckinpah's triumph. His hard-edged elegies for the West come from a life spent absorbing its folkways. Born into a California pioneer family, Peckinpah is a hard liver who has found some of his script ideas by doing research in barrooms and bordellos. Because he is scrappy and unwilling to compromise, he has spent a good deal of his professional time warring with the money men in the front of-fice, who truncated Major Dundee and fired him from The Cincinnati Kid after three days of shooting. "You have to worry and fight until you get what you want," he once said, and if Peckinpah has battled more than most, his tenacity has finally paid off

The Wild Bunch contains faults and mistakes, but its accomplishments are more than sufficient to confirm that Peckinpah, along with Stanley Kubrick and Arthur Penn, belongs with the best of the newer generation of American film makers.

### Strange Bedfellows

Although it is advertised as a film about student unrest in Paris and Prague, A Matter of Days is hardly the thing to see for ideological inspiration. It is a quiet, sentimental little love story that happens to be set against a university background, a sort of La Chinoise for squares. When a French graduate student (Thalie Fruges) goes to bed with her professor boy friend (Vit Olmer) for the first time, Director Yves Ciampi actually cuts to an exterior long shot of the light being turned out in the garret -a graceful, old-fashioned touch that is fairly typical of the entire film. Activists will be angry that Ciampi is obviously more interested in passion than politics, since he uses last spring's political riots merely as a plot device to separate the lovers

Sentimentalists will accept Days without question or quibble. Actor Olmer bears an uncanny resemblance to Mike Nichols and performs with bemused authority, but the film really belongs to Thalic Fruges, whose effortless, effervescent sexuality lends Days a small but firm distinction.





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# BOOKS

# Jackie's Machine

THE LOVE MACHINE by Jacqueline Susann. 511 pages. Simon & Schuster. \$6.95. It's only a matter of time before some-

one designs a thin, 9-in. by 6-in. portable TV set that opens like a book. Since 90% of all contemporary writers of fiction can do little more with language than concoct dialogue and make wordy pictures, Televolume might benefit writer and reader alike. Novels that normally take six to eight hours to read could be transformed into two hours of viewing simply by eliminating

Valley was a pharmacological and gynecological nightmare. Reader interest, soaring along on a series of drug ingestions, couplings and nervous breakdowns, finally hit an apogee with breast cancer. Love Machine lacks Valley's primitive vigor but equals its obsession with pathology: leukemia, gall-bladder trouble, heart disease, neurasthenia and nymphomania play important roles. One man is terrified of losing his genitalia; another surrenders them gladly in order to become a woman. The central character, a power-mad television executive with a superhuman capacity for vodka and coitus, is mysteriously incapable of



An unfailing instinct for the varicose vein.

the need to read descriptions of aquiline noses, snowy breasts, silken haunches, the interminable lighting of cigarettes, pouring of drinks and brewing of coffee. Once liberated from the vestigial sanctity of hard covers, the popular novel could be promoted with the same big budgets and honest enthusiasm as any other mass entertainment.

One author who is not waiting for such technological innovations is Jacqueline Susann, a former utility actress and semi-celebrity who finally got her share of limelight and lettuce (more than \$1,000,000) by writing a book called Valley of the Dolls. Miss Susann's latest excitement is The Love Machine. A preposterously engaging sexand-power fantasy targeted mainly at middle-aged females. The Love Machine is already nudging Portnoy's Complaint off the top of the bestseller lists, and should gross at least \$2,000,000. In it, Miss Susann once again demonstrates her remarkable instinct for the varicose vein.

love and marriage. The explanation is only a cut above those delivered in Hollywood psychodramas of the 1940s in which a white-coated mental hygienist resolved the plot with a five-minute dissertation on the Oedipus complex.

As a novelist, Miss Susann unwittingly gravitates toward a caricature of naturalism, a relatively uncomplicated form of literary life born in the seminal spillage of Darwin's The Origin of Species and kept alive by public demand. Naturalism at best tends to project the human animal as an unanpetizing accumulation of nerve endings and appetites. But in Miss Susann's handling, appetites consume the characters they inhabit, leaving nothing behind but a had taste

In a Delicatessen. With two huge successes in less than four years, Jacqueline Susann is thrusting past such bestseller fabricators as Harold Robbins. Arthur Hailey and Leon Uris. She is now in a commercial sphere where fame matches fortune as a spur to effort. "Money is applause," Miss Susann sums it up with characteristic baldness-and that must be the case.

What sets her apart from competing fast-buck writers is her extraordinary show-business savvy and an almost unlimited fondness for self-promotion. When it comes to flogging the product personally, the others are plodding dilettantes by comparison.

With a natural merchandiser's instinct. she pushed her first book Every Night, Josephine!-a bonbon about walking her poodle-by putting it on display in Manhattan restaurants and even a delicatessen. Today, helped by her publicistmanager-husband Irving Mansfield, she is still at it. With inexhaustible energy and boundless enthusiasm, she assaults and attracts the public in a succession of day-by-day, city-by-city publicity campaigns. A typical day recently began at 8 a.m. It included a TV show, four radio talks, two newspaper interviews, a general press conference, and a visit with Beatle John Lennon and his wife Yoko Ono.

As the most public of authors, "Jackie" makes most of the network gab shows. Her picture appears on London buses and in New York subways. Rayenwigged and smoky-eved, she gazes down from between the Preparation H and mail-order-diploma ads like an Egyptian love goddess who was unfortunate enough to have been caught with her head turned full front. Fortunately, Jackie's other qualities

include a thick skin and the killer reflexes of a mongoose. In a recent taped TV interview-later judiciously edited -she drew first and last blood from a female reporter.

Interviewer: Don't vou ever wake up in the middle of the night and realize

you haven't done anything that is really artistic? Jackie: Do you wake up and think you're not Huntley-Brinkley?

Interviewer: Look at your competition. Updike. Roth.

Jackie: Do you believe in masturbation? Interviewer: But the point of Roth to me was the language. Jackie: Yes. Shlong. That's a new word

to me, You're so uptight, Why are you uptight? I'm relaxed. Life is fun. Great fun is high art. What do you read? Interviewer: Well, I just read I Am

Mary Dunne, by Brian Moore, Jackie: I am what? Mary Hun? Never heard of it. Do you have children? Interviewer: I have three. Jackie: I know your type. You have

French records on while you're feeding the baby and someone else telling you about the opera. But I'm glad you have three children because now at least I know you've done something.

Secure in the publicist's truth that out of the mouths of stars comes hot copy, Jackie strews absurdities, inconsistencies, generalities, banalities and wisecracks with calculated sincerity: Critics. Egghead-doubledomes! There are about eight influential critics and all they want is books that only they can understand.

Novels. There is no room for literature in the novel today. The competition is too great. People want to read a novel to bed at night, and there's Johnny Carson and great old movies on The Late

Show.

Vladimir Nabokov. I'm in his league, and I see myself as the best man.

Philip Roth. I liked the book but I'd hate to shake his hand.

Fashion. My favorite designers are St. Laurent, Valentino and Pucci. But I can't wear Pucci's op prints. My boobs are too big.

Reviews. I've had a lot of bad reviews and I honestly don't mind them as long as they're witty and don't give the plot away.

Pot. I don't advise smoking it. Cigarettes give you cancer, heart trouble and everything else. But pot has a built-in safety device: three cigarettes and you gotta pass out.

Life. People start out good. Dillinger even was good once. Life and lone-

liness change people.

Orgies. They go on all the time. It's not a question of "I'm going to have an orgy tonight." You have your choice to do it or not. In certain groups it

goes on frequently.

In Jackie's business, truly, nothing succeeds like excess.

## The Canker in the Rose

WHAT I'M GOING TO DO, I THINK by L. Woiwode. 309 pages. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. \$5.95.

The man's talent is even more no-New Yorker stories and poems as warmtime to the total properties of the total Why-wood-ee) has staged the best threeway confrontation between a young man, life and the Michigan woods since themingway's Nick Adams stories. If a better first novel than this one appears in 1990, it will be a remarkable year.

At first, the book seems to be an agreeable juvenile confection. The plot is almost conventionally simple and contemporary. A 23-year-old graduate student named Chris marries a 21-yearold coed-dropout named Ellen, with whom he has slept on and off for three years. The tone inclines rakishly toward the comic. Ellen is pregnant, and the marriage has to be a bit of a scramble. There is a mad, drunken bus ride on the part of the groom. In a scene of smothered hilarity, the couple receive spiritual instructions (and an introductory sex manual) from a young minister with a crew cut.

But shadows keep falling across the story. Those grandparents of Ellen who purse their lips in disapproval but lend their Michigan lodge for the honeymoon are less comic old folks than vaguely sinister agents provocateurs. Nor is the northwestern shore of Lake Michigan the Garden of Eden it appears to the two children, pretending like every



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1. Stop, look and listen. That's the easiest way to encounter a foreign visitor. (And, if you don't encounter one, what will he, she-or perhaps they-have to remember you by?) 2. Prepare to jump a hurdle. What sort of hurdle? Well, let's say you've just stopped, looked and listened in a bustling bus terminal. Your alert eye catches the tentative movement of someone who takes a quick step forward. An even quicker step back. Then stands stock still, looking lost, You've spotted one! Your foreign visitor. And he (or perhaps she) is lost, but too shy to ask directions. And you're just about to offer help. But, suddenly, you can't? You're too shy too? Then that's your hurdle. Jump it. Or simply step across.

3. That's not your hurdle, but you've just run into another? Your English-speaking willow dear the property of the property of the subsection of the property of the second of the and exact? It's probably his ears. Perhaps they're long attuned to British English, or Australian English, or Irish English, and they find your rajold-fire American English difficult to catch. So repeat your answer, slowly.

4. You have no trouble communicating, you just don't know the place he seeks? Take a moment to glance around. And another to dig into your memory. Chances are you do know a Tourist Information Center, or Travelers Ald, or Chamber of Commerce Office and you could take him

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L. WOIWODE WITH HIS FAMILY Beyond blitheness, not up to bitterness.

young couple to be the only, the original man and woman on earth. After lyrically celebrating the pleasures of lovemaking, Woiwode begins softly terrorzing paradise, Chostly presences appear progressively more foreboding. the stuffed animals on the wall, the mice in the plano, night pappings at the stuffed animals on the wall, the mice in the plano, night prings at the property of the Above all, there are intruding memories: her dead parents, his live ones; the halfforestien other lovers.

Slowly, painfully, they begin to learn about the enemies of love, without and within. Chris loses sleep, then appetite, finally ardor. Convinced that "some dark thing was overtaking him," he buys a rifle and lugs it everywhere. As the child within her grows, Ellen retreats to her own childhood, resurrecting the toys in the lodge attic. Seeking reassurance, the pair try the ritual of childhood games-Parcheesi, Chinese checkers-then break off even this relationship. Chris teaches Ellen to shoot. At last all they share is the gun, as if the final game were to be a game of kill. More and more, the birth they await seems a kind of impending death.

How they survive, and on what terms with love and life, is the heart of the book and the measure of Woiwode's worldly wisdom. He throws off bit characters-an Indian clerk in the general store, an old farmer down the road -with the sort of spendthrift brilliance that measures an abundant talent. He handles those woods with the care and exactness of a naturalist. In short, at 27. he is already a novelist one can trust. Past blitheness, but not up to bitterness, Woiwode treats life (and death) with unstinting tenderness. He knows the price of love-and he knows the cost of living without it.

# Main Street Reviscerated

MR. BRIDGE by Evan S. Connell Jr. 369 pages. Knopf. \$5.95.

Like some sunken Atlantis, a Middle West lurks in the collective unconscious of many Americans. In that Middle West the year is still 1930-something, the lawns are broad and sleek, locusts whine in the elms on summer afternoons. There are vacant lots suitable for baseball. Prosperous businessmen eat lunch together every day at the hotel grill, and their wives have card parties with small prizes-a vocabulary-building book or a piece of bone china. There are, of course, bad neighborhoods, some colored, some criminal; people with alien names; poor people (mostly lazy); and a dangerous President in the White House. Be that as it may (a favorite locution of Walter Bridge), the place is a licensed fragment of the American dream, from a time when it was still possible to believe that such inequities as existed would soon be expunged by a little hard work and a few more schools and jobs.

Hello Out There? Ten years ago, in his first novel. Fwa S. Connell created a brilliant portrait of one inhabitant of this psychic heartland, Mrs. India light emother of three, wife of a successful Kansas City lawyer. Written as a sequence of linked vignettes, Mrs. Bridge showed a remoreless accuracy and comic sense powerful enough to reduce its subject to he reckless gist, the the final scene, she has managed to get the support of the contraction of the last seen tapping on the car window with the ignition key as she calls, to no one, "Hello? Hello out there?")

Now her husband's turn has come, Where Mrs. Bridge served mostly as a target (roughly the size of a garage door), Mr. Bridge is approached with an odd mixture of respect, horror and wan amusement. The result is a strail-laced piece of comment. The result is a strail-laced piece of comment of the most piece of comment of the most piece of the strain of the strain of the most piece of the strain of the stra

Mr. Bridge is a good man, a man of principle. He prefers not to laugh at dirty stories, and gambling angers him. He actual faith is the familiar mixture of pragmatic boosterism and hard-shell propriety. "Critiquation may not be rotting," he concedes. "My personal opinion is that if Roosevelt and his left-wing advisers do not undermine threadom and security many fields of endeavor which will literally stagger the immegnation."

imagnation. Middle-Class Minefield. Since he is already in possession of everything he can think of that he might want, Mr. Bridge considers himself happy. He has a Lincoln and a Chrysler, a country-club membership and the best Negro cook in town. He has an array of stocks and bonds (which he contemplates at in-



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tervals in the basement of Virgil Barron's bank, Still, mysteriously and unfairly, his normal existence seems filled with threats. Waiters "take advantage of people every chance they get." Negroes unreasonably wish to be regarded as fellow human beings. Jews violate standards of business practice and profit anyway; they also try to move into one's neighborhood.

On top of all this, Bridge keeps being asked to commit himself emotionally. Almost by reflex, he tries to reach his children, but his gestures and in general embarrassment. Though he loves his wife, he can think of nothing appropriate that might convey that fact exkansas City Power & Light. Determined to retain his dignity, he moves carfully through the sunny meadow of middle-class affluence as through a dangerous minefield.

Connell perceives the humor in Bridge's predicament, which is probably necessary: a good man is hard to stand. But his restrained tone of voice and inhumanly cool, cruel irony convey the impression of barely repressed personal rancor, such as a son might feel in trying to discuss his father. Perhaps this, and the fact that it is set in the 1930s, is what makes Mr. Bridge more than an objective caricature of the uptight WASP personality so often under attack today. What emerges is a muted image of an American type as pure, enduring and applicable as George F. Babbitt ever was. Mr. Bridge's unwitting and rather dated dilemma, Connell suggests, is capable of pointing a lesson for today. The old, defensive virtues-the living of life rationally, correctly and righteously-are no longer enough to know the world for what it is or meet more than its meanest challenges.



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